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Bengal Legislative Assembly

Eighth Session, 1940

The 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 27th and 28th August, 1940

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
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GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

His Excellency SIR JOHN ARTHUR HERBERT, G.C.I.E.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL KASEM FAZLUL HUQ, in charge of the Education Department.

(2) The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN, K.C.I.E., in charge of the Home Department.

(3) The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY, in charge of the Revenue Department.

(4) The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca, in charge of Public Health (including Medical) and Local Self-Government Departments.

(5) The Hon'ble Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar, in charge of Communications and Works Department.

(6) The Hon'ble Mr. HUSEYAN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY, in charge of Finance, Commerce and Labour Departments.

(7) The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur, in charge of the Judicial and Legislative Departments.

(8) The Hon'ble Mr. PRASANNA DEB RAIKUT, in charge of the Forests and Excise Departments.

(9) The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK, in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Departments.

(10) The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN, in charge of Agriculture and Industries (including Veterinary) and Rural Reconstruction Departments.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SPEAKER.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.

DEPUTY SPEAKER.

M. ASHRAFALI, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

SECRETARY.

K. ALI AFZAL, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

FIRST ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

Rai N. N. SEN GUPTA Bahadur.

SECOND ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

Khan Sahib QUAZI MUHAMMAD SADRUL OLA.

REGISTRAR.

A. B. CHATTERJEE, Esq

THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

Volume LVII—No. 5.

(Official Report of the Eighth Session.)

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 21st August, 1940, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 219 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Resident Medical Officer of Carmichael Hospital for Tropical Diseases.

*181. **Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state how many times the present Resident Medical Officer of Carmichael Hospital for Tropical Diseases had occasion to write instructions about treatment in the bed head ticket or history sheet since he occupied the post?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that the Tropical Diseases Hospital is meant for research work;

(*ii*) that usually no serious cases are admitted there;

(*iii*) that the House Physicians do the night duties at that institution;

(*iv*) that they respond to several calls every night and deal with all emergencies; and

(*v*) that the Resident Medical Officer of the said Hospital is very rarely called for at night?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what other hospital works are done by the Resident Medical Officer of the Tropical Diseases Hospital?

(*d*) Do the Government contemplate the abolition of the post of the Resident Medical Officer of the Tropical Diseases Hospital?

MINISTER in charge of the PUBLIC HEALTH and LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur, of Dacca): (*a*) The Resident Medical Officer of the Carmichael Hospital for Tropical Diseases is also one of the Visiting Physicians of the Hospital and has beds under him.

The Visiting Physicians give daily instructions which are recorded by their assistants. The Physicians in charge of beds are entirely responsible for the treatment of patients admitted under them; research work is carried out by them on patients admitted.

(*b*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) As this is a research hospital, only such cases as are suitable for research purposes are admitted.

(*iii*) Yes.

(*iv*) They respond to calls at night when required and send for the Resident Medical Officer when necessary.

(*v*) The Resident Medical Officer is called for not only during the day but also at night and the night calls are fairly frequent.

(*c*) A statement is laid on the table.

(*d*) No. Next to the Superintendent, the Resident Medical Officer is the most responsible and essential Medical Officer of the institution.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (c) of starred question No. 181, showing the duties of the Resident Medical Officer of the Carmichael Hospital for Tropical Diseases.

(*i*) He has beds under his charge and is responsible for the treatment and research work being carried out with them.

(*ii*) He is often called upon to take extra beds when there is shortage of Visiting Physicians.

(*iii*) In the absence of the Superintendent, he is in charge of the hospital.

(*iv*) All cases of admission are referred to him.

(*v*) He is responsible for the maintenance of discipline in the hospital; all cases of negligence, irregularities, deficiencies or breakages, etc., are dealt with by him.

(*vi*) He is responsible for the realisation of the cabin patients' dues.

(*vii*) He is responsible for the diet of patients in the hospital and the proper furnishing and equipment of the hospital and of all stores in the hospital.

(*viii*) He is responsible for the money and valuables deposited by the patients for their safe custody and return.

Malaria in Chatal subdivision.

*182. **Mr. HARENDRA NATH DOLUI:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health Department aware—

(*i*) that Ghatal subdivision in the district of Midnapore is suffering from malaria; and

(*ii*) that last year practically no case of malaria was found due to the last great flood?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether his department has given any expert opinion to this end to the Communications and Works Department in the matter of filling up of the breaches in the Chetua Circuit embankment in the subdivision of Ghatal in the said district?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) (*i*) Malaria is prevalent in an endemic form in the subdivision; but there has been no abnormal situation during the current year. No report of outbreak of malaria has been received from this subdivision.

(*ii*) The incidence of malaria during the current year is much lower than in 1939.

(*b*) No.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the prevalence of malaria in 1939 in a lesser form was due to breaches in the Chetua Circuit Embankment?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I want notice.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Will th Hon'ble Minister be pleased to make an enquiry into the advisability of keeping open the breaches there?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I shall make an enquiry.

Application of Defence of India measures in Bengal.

*183. **Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state the number of persons in Bengal dealt with under the Defence of India Act and Rules since their enforcement, specifying separately the number of—

(*i*) those who have been sentenced;

(*ii*) those who have not been sentenced; and

(*iii*) those in respect of whom orders of externment, internment, or other restrictions have been passed?

(*b*) Whether Government are aware of a feeling of disaffection among a section of the people over the application in Bengal of the Defence of India measures?

(*c*) Whether the Government contemplate any change of policy in the matter in the immediate future?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) A statement is laid on the table.

(*b*) Yes.

(*c*) No.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 183.

(*i*) Who have been sentenced under the Defence of India Rules	266
(*ii*) Who have not been sentenced	1,739
(*iii*) In respect of whom orders of externment, internment or other restrictions have been passed	452

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: In view of the amended answer, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he would be prepared to reconsider answer (*c*) as well?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: No, Sir, the reason being that it is confined only to a limited section of the people.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: With reference to the detention of those who have not been sentenced, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the policy of the Government of Bengal with regard to the duration of time during which they are intended to be kept in detention?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Will the honourable member kindly mention which category he is referring to?

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Sir, I refer to (*a*)(*ii*), namely, those who have not been sentenced, the number being 1,739.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I expected that there would be some misunderstanding over this. These 1,739 persons are not people who are being detained—there are 690 cases of warnings; 987 cases of arrests, but very likely released since then, and tried and acquitted—62; so the actual number of people arrested and convicted is very few.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: How many?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I have not got the figure with me. There are other questions on this subject which will come up later on where the actual figure of those who are being detained is given.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Sir, what I wanted to know was the policy of the Bengal Government with regard to the duration of time for which they contemplate keeping them in detention whatever their number may be.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, it is very difficult to say. It all depends on the situation, for example, if those who are in detention decide to change their policy, or the organisations to which they belong change their policy and give up their activities, very likely they may be released.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether these persons were arrested and kept in detention at the instance of the Government of Bengal or of the Government of India?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, speaking from memory, I believe, only two persons have been detained at the instance of the Government of India and the rest at the instance of the Government of Bengal.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: As the Bengal Government have taken the responsibility for keeping in detention all these persons excepting two, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the nature of the policy and the activities of the organisations which the Hon'ble Minister wants to be changed before Government can release these persons?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who are the two persons detained at the instance of the Government of India?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I ask for notice.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether this number of 266 referred to in (*a*) (*i*) includes those who have been dealt with in connection with the removal of the Holwell Monument, and, if so, what is their number?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Persons convicted under the Defence of India Act in the Province specially in Dinajpur.

***184. Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Political) Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing up to date for the district of Dinajpur—

(*i*) the names and number of persons prosecuted and convicted under the Defence of India Act and Rules; and

(*ii*) sentences passed on those convicted and for the offence committed by each?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table another statement showing, district by district, the number of persons prosecuted and convicted under the India Defence Act and Rules in the rest of the districts of the Province up to date?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) and (*b*) Two statements are laid on the table.

I am not prepared to supply the honourable member with the names as I do not consider that in the public interest the names should be divulged.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 184.

In Dinajpur—Number of persons prosecuted—50; and number of persons convicted—7.

Of these 50 persons, one was prosecuted under rules 56 and 34 of the Defence of India Rules. He was sentenced to six months' rigorous

imprisonment. Twenty-two persons were prosecuted under rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules. Five of these 22 persons were convicted—one sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and each of the remaining four sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 200. Nineteen persons were prosecuted under rules 56 and 38 (*5*) of the Defence of India Rules. Two persons were prosecuted under rule 26 (*6*) of the Defence of India Rules for violation of restriction order. Six persons were prosecuted under rule 38 (*5*) of the Defence of India Rules for profiteering. One of these 6 persons was fined Rs. 20, in default to undergo 20 days' rigorous imprisonment. The cases of the rest are pending.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (b) of starred question No. 184.

	Name of district.	Number of persons prosecuted.	Number of persons convicted.
1.	Calcutta	28	22
2.	24-Parganas	3	3
3.	Howrah	7	6
4.	Hooghly	3	3
5.	Bankura	..	..
6.	Birbhum	..	..
7.	Burdwan	18	18
8.	Jessore	1	..
9.	Nadia	10	10
10.	Murshidabad	3	3
11.	Midnapore	4	4
12.	Khulna	1	1
13.	Mymensingh	129	104
14.	Bakarganj	..	..
15.	Faridpur	14	13
16.	Dacca	25	23
17.	Bogra	..	..
18.	Malda	4	3
19.	Rangpur	3	2
20.	Darjeeling	..	..
21.	Jalpaiguri	5	1
22.	Rajshahi	..	..
23.	Noakhali	9	9
24.	Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	..	..
25.	Chittagong	5	4
26.	Tippera	35	31
27.	Pabna	..	..

Duties of the Secretary, Medical College Hospitals.

*185. **Mr. PUSPAJIT BARMA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the Secretary of the Calcutta Medical College Hospitals has to deal with (1) medical, semi-medical matters and non-medical matters, and (2) many Medical Officers within and outside the services; and

(*ii*) when and with what qualifications was the present incumbent employed?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*i*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government have ever considered to fill up the post by a Bengal Medical Service Officer?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) (*i*) A copy of the rules relating to the duties of the Secretary, Medical College Hospitals, is laid on the Library table. His duties are principally concerned with receipts, expenditures, supplies and services of the Hospitals and his dealings with medical matters and Medical Officers within and outside the services are in relation to the functions referred to above.

(*ii*) The present Secretary, Medical College Hospitals, was appointed on the 1st October, 1928. He is a graduate, an Incorporated Accountant and Auditor and an Associated Member of the Society of Accountants and Auditors, London.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Climatic sanatorium in Bengal.

*186. **Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE:** (*a*) With reference to the reply given to starred question No. 467 on the 25th May, 1939, and the budget speech of the Hon'ble Minister for Public Health and Local Self-Government delivered on the 14th March, 1940, will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) how many sites have been inspected by the Expert Committee for the selection of a suitable site for a climatic sanatorium in Bengal;

(*ii*) whether a suitable site has been recommended by the Committee;

(*iii*) whether the Government have come to a final decision in the matter;

(*iv*) whether it is a fact that the donor has expressed his desire to withdraw the donation in view of the inordinate delay of 5 years in arriving at the Government's decision in the matter; and

(*v*) whether in case no further suitable sites are available in Bengal, the Government contemplate the establishment of the institution in a contiguous province in order to ensure the best results in the treatment of the disease?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the report of the Expert Committee?

(*c*) Have the Government considered the views recently expressed by Dr. C. Frimodt-Moller, C.B.E., M.D., etc., Medical Commissioner to the Tuberculosis Association of India, in the May number of the *Journal of the Bengal Tuberculosis Association*—"The location of a large central institution should in Bengal not be located in the plains; while each large city, as already mentioned, should have a sanatorium or a tuberculosis hospital, whatever name is preferred, in close vicinity to it, it would be preferable to locate the central institution away from the extreme heat so detrimental to tuberculosis patients"?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government contemplate taking those views into their consideration?

(*e*) Have the Government formulated a definite line of action in combating the gradually increasing menace of tuberculosis in Bengal?

(*f*) If the answer to (*e*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the line of action taken?

(*g*) How and when do the Government propose to proceed on that line?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) (*i*) About twenty sites were inspected by the Expert Committee appointed to examine the scheme for location of a climatic sanatorium for tuberculosis and by the expert advisers of Government.

(*ii*) The Expert Committee recommended a site in the neighbourhood of Kalimpong as the most suitable.

(*iii*) Government have decided to abandon the proposal of locating a sanatorium in the neighbourhood of Kalimpong owing to opposition from the local public.

(*iv*) Yes.

(*v*) Recently I called a conference of experts who have provisionally suggested a site in the hills in this Province, the suitability and availability of which will be examined very shortly.

(*b*) A copy of the report of the Committee is laid on the Library table.

(*c*) Yes.

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) to (*g*) I would refer the honourable member to my answer to clause (*e*) of the starred question No. 198, dated the 8th March, 1940, by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee in the last session of the Assembly.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: With reference to his answer to (*v*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to let the House know whether the Government have given up the decision to start a climatic sanatorium in Bengal or not? What is the actual decision—to start a sanatorium in Kalimpong or outside?

Mr. SPEAKER: As I read it, he has said where a site is available.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Do the Government still stick to their decision to establish a climatic sanatorium in the province after all the enquiries and efforts that have been made?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: Government even now are considering the question of site.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: With reference to answer (*v*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what hills does he mean? There are so many hills in the province.

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: We have provisionally selected a site in the Darjeeling hills.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: If any particular site has been selected, I want to know the name.

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: A place just below Darjeeling.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when that site will be examined? Can we have some idea of time—one month or two months?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: As soon as the Assembly is over the gentlemen will go over there to examine the proposed site, because they are now engaged in answering questions.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Has any special committee been appointed with a view to examining that site?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: A special committee was appointed some time ago for examining other sites. The same committee is examining this site also.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer to (*a*)(*iv*), will the Hon'ble Minister kindly say whether the donor has laid down conditions on account of which the money would have to be returned?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: He has expressed his desire and we are trying to persuade him to withdraw that desire.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: With reference to answer (*c*), what does the Hon'ble Minister mean by saying that Government have considered the plan of Dr. Moller? Have the Government up till now started any hospital in any city or contemplate establishing a tuberculosis hospital in the near future?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I have said "yes". It is very plain.

Voters in the Labour Constituencies of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

—*187-88. **Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN** and **Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of—

(1) Hindu,

(2) Muslim, and

(3) other

voters recently enlisted for the next election in the sections of the Labour constituencies of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, namely,—

(*i*) Calcutta and suburbs,

(*ii*) Barrackpore,

(*iii*) Howrah,

(*iv*) Hooghly *cum* Serampore, and

(*v*) Asansol respectively; and

(*b*) the number of voters in each of the abovementioned sections in the election of 1936?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) The rolls are not prepared by communities and therefore the figures are not available.

(*b*) The figures are given below—

Name of constituencies.	Number of voters.
Calcutta and suburbs (Registered Factories) ...	71,424
Barrackpore (Registered Factories) ...	98,316
Howrah (Registered Factories) ...	60,521
Hooghly *cum* Serampore (Registered Factories) ...	32,646
Colliery (Coal Mines)	35,701

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: There is something wrong somewhere. These figures are well known.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have noticed that.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: So, we can put the question again?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Number of cases investigated by the present Officer-in-charge of the Hajiganj police-station.

***189. Maulvi JONAB ALI MAJUMDAR:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) how many cases had been investigated by the present Officer-in-charge of the Hajiganj police-station in the district of Tippera during the last 12 months ending the 30th June, 1940;

(*b*) in how many of those cases charge sheets prosecuting the accused were submitted by the said Sub-Inspector of Police;

(*c*) how many of those cases have been finally ended in acquittal of the accused after trial;

(*d*) how many cases have been withdrawn; and

(*e*) how much public money was spent by the Government in conducting those cases in which the accused were finally acquitted?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) Eighty-five.

(*b*) Forty-seven.

(*c*) Six.

(*d*) One.

(*e*) It is not possible to work out figures on this account. The information asked for is not, therefore, available.

Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the number of cases tried out of these 47 cases?

Mr. SPEAKER: The question does not arise.

Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN: Of these 47 it is admitted that two cases have been withdrawn I want to know how many cases have been tried out of these 47.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: From the answers (*b*) and (*c*) it will be seen that the rest are pending.

Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN: How many cases have been tried up till now?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, you do not know that every case in which a charge sheet has been submitted must be tried.

Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN: I want to know how many cases are pending.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I think it is a matter of simple arithmetic. If there are 47 cases of which 6 have ended in acquittal and 1 in withdrawal, the rest are pending. It is very likely those cases have not yet been finished.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state for how long those cases are pending?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I ask for notice.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire whether those cases are pending for more than six months?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many cases have ended in conviction up till now?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I ask for notice.

Staff of the Collectorate of Dacca and of its subdivisions.

***190. Maulvi MD. ABDUL HAKIM VIKRAMPURI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(*a*) the present number of clerical posts, department by department, under the Dacca Collectorate, in the district office and in each of the subdivisions;

(*b*) the number of vacancies occurring year by year in these offices since the year 1935;

(*c*) the number of appointments made from outside the district of Dacca during the period;

(*d*) the number of (1) temporary and (2) permanent posts held by the inhabitants of the Dacca district year by year from 1935; and

(*e*) the number of—

(1) temporary, and

(2) permanent

posts held by the—

(1) Muslims, and

(2) Scheduled Castes,

year by year, in the district from 1935?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): Two statements, "A" and "B", furnishing the information are laid on the table.

Statement "A" referred to in the reply to starred question No. 190, showing the number of posts in the District and Subdivisional Offices of the district of Dacca.

Sadar.

Permanent.	Number of posts.	Temporary.	Number of posts.
Office Superintendent ..	1	Education Cess ..	10
Confidential Clerk ..	1	Bengal Tenancy Act ..	4
Accounts ..	17	Road Cess Valuation and Revaluation.	1
Excise ..	4	Finance Act ..	3
Bengal Tenancy Act ..	1	Certificate ..	3
Certificate ..	3	Circle Officer's Clerk ..	3
Stamp ..	2	Special Debt Settlement Board ..	2
Wards ..	2	Central Bank Debt Settlement Board.	1
Khas Mahal ..	1	Election ..	1
Partitition ..	3	Against permanent vacancies ..	2
Judicial Munshikhana ..	20	Suspension ..	3
Revenue Munshikhana ..	7	Deputation vacancies ..	10
Nezarat ..	9		
Record Room ..	14		
Tauzi ..	19		
General Department ..	21		
Land Registration ..	5		
Suspension ..	3		
Vacant ..	4		
Total ..	137	Total ..	43

Narayanganj subdivision.

Head Clerk ..	1	Comparing Clerk ..	2
Correspondence ..	1	Circle Officer's Clerk ..	2
Election and Rural Development	1	Special Debt Settlement Board Clerk.	2
Nazir ..	1	Central Special Debt Settlement Board Clerk	1
Assistant Nazir ..	1	Land Acquisition ..	1
Chaukidari Clerk ..	1		
Revenue Cess Certificate ..	1		
Bench Clerks and General Assistants.	6		
Typist-despatcher ..	1		
Khas Mahal Clerk ..	1		
Total ..	15	Total ..	8

Permanent.	Number of posts.	Temporary.	Number of posts.
Manickganj subdivision.			
Head Clerk and Sub-Treasury ..	1	Comparing Clerk ..	1
Correspondance, Certificate and Revenue Cess.	2	Special Debt Settlement Board Clerk.	1
Election and Rural Development	1	Central Bank Special Debt Settlement Board Clerk.	2
Accountant ..	1	Circle Officer's Clerk ..	2
Nazir ..	1		
Assistant Nazir ..	1		
Chaukidari Clerk ..	1		
Bench Clerks and General Assistants	5		
Typist and Despatcher ..	1		
Khas Mahal ..	1		
Total ..	15	Total ..	6

Munshiganj subdivision.			
Head Clerk and Sub-Treasury ..	1	Circle Officer's Clerk ..	2
Correspondance, Certificate and Revenue Cess.	1	Special Debt Settlement Board ..	1
Election and Rural Development	1	Central Bank Special Debt Settlement Board.	2
Accountant ..	1		
Nazir ..	1		
Assistant Nazir ..	1		
Chaukidari Clerk ..	1		
Bench Clerks and General Assistants	6		
Typist-despatcher ..	1		
Khas Mahal ..	1		
Total ..	14	Total ..	5

Statement "B" referred to in the reply to starred question No. 190, showing the number of vacancies and the appointments made in the District and Subdivisional Offices, Dacca.

Year.	Number of vacancies.		Number of appointments made from outside the district of Dacca.		Number of posts held by the inhabitants of the Dacca district.		Number of posts held by Muslims.		Number of posts held by Scheduled Castes.	
	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1935	4	1	1	..	146	29	70	8	8	2
1936	10	3	1	..	147	36	70	11	6	5
1937	9	10	1	..	148	44	70	14	7	6
1938	8	13	1	1	149	48	72	15	8	7
1939	6	16	..	2	150	42	72	14	10	5
1940	4	11	..	..	159	59	76	24	3	7

Remarks.—Vacancies are not treated to have occurred in the Subdivisional Offices because when there is any vacancy in the Subdivisional Offices due to death, retirement or otherwise, staff from Sadar Office is sent to fill up those vacancies and appointments are subsequently made in the Sadar Office keeping the sanctioned strength within the limit.

MR. RASIK LAL BISWAS: Sir, এই Questions and Answers এর ১৩ পৃষ্ঠায় দেখা যায় Scheduled castes এর service এর list যেখানে আছে সেখানে ১৯৩৫-৪০ পর্য্যন্ত permanent service এর ঘরে দেখা যায়—যথা ক্রমে—৮।৬।৭।৮। ১০।৩ দেওয়া আছে ; ১৯৩৫ সনে আট এবং ১৯৩৯ সনে ছিল ১০। বর্ত্তমান সনে সেটা একেবারে তিনে কমে এসেছে, এর কারণটা মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দয়া কোরে বোলবেন কি ?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, it all depends on the number of vacancies actually available in a particular year.

Mr. SPEAKER: If you look at column 10 of the statement you will find that the number of permanent posts held by the Scheduled Castes was 8 in 1935 but that it has been reduced to 3 in 1940——

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: I have seen that point, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is the reason therefor?

The Hon'ble SIR BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: The only explanation that I can offer is that we have been following the principles of the Communal Ratio Rules. Probably more officers had retired and the number of vacancies actually available for the Hindus was much less and therefore we had to fill them up from the Scheduled Castes according to the principles laid down in the Communal Ratio Rules. That is probably why the number has come down.

Non-Bengali doctor in the Sambhunath Pandit Hospital.

***191. Maulvi MD. MOZAMMEL HUQ:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether there is any non-Bengali doctor in the Sambhunath Pandit Hospital?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason for the appointment of a non-Bengali in preference to Bengalis?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) Yes; one.

(*b*) He was appointed because he was considered to be the best qualified and most suitable for the post.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state what post does this gentleman hold?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: He is the second Honorary Surgeon in the Eye Department.

Mr. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether this gentleman knows Bengali?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I could not say that.

Surgeons and Physicians, Sambhunath Pandit Hospital.

*192. **Maulvi MD. MOZAMMEL HUQ:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) how many Honorary Surgeons and Physicians are there in the Sambhunath Pandit Hospital, Calcutta;

(*ii*) what are their names;

(*iii*) what are their visiting hours;

(*iv*) at what time each of those gentlemen attend the Hospital; and

(*v*) whether they attend cases of special interest at the outdoor department as is done in the Medical College and Campbell Hospitals?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*v*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps the Government are proposing to take for the attendance of the Surgeons and Physicians at the outdoor department on their respective admission days?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) (*i*) Seven.

(*ii*) to (*iv*) A statement is laid on the table.

(*v*) No.

(*b*) All interesting cases in the outdoor department are admitted into the indoor ward and the honorary staff get opportunity for seeing the cases. The matter will, however, be further considered by Government.

Statement referred to in the reply to clauses (a) (ii) to (iv) of starred question No. 192, showing particulars regarding Honorary Surgeons and Physicians at the Sambhunath Pandit Hospital.

Name.	Their visiting hours and the time each of these gentlemen attend the hospital.
. Dr. B. N. Ghosh, F.R.F.P. & S. :. Dr. P. Roy, F.R.F.P. & S. :. Dr. Souren Ghosh, F.R.C.S. :. Dr. K. D. Saha, D.O., D.O.M.S. :. Dr. V. P. Patel, D.O.M.S. :. Dr. D. S. Das Gupta, D.E., D.F. :. Dr. A. Rakshit, L.M., D.M.R.E.	The Honorary Physician and two Honorary Surgeons attend the hospital during the usual visiting hours, i.e., in the morning at about 9 a.m. and remain in the hospital as long as their presence is necessary. Dr. K. D. Saha, and Dr. V. P. Patel, attend the outdoor department in the evening between 3 and 5 p.m. the former officer on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays while the other on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Dr. Rakshit attends the Radiological Department on Wednesdays and Fridays in the evenings. The Dental Surgeon attends between 9-30 a.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Operation of Defence of India Act in Faridpur.

***193. Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing, from the 1st January, 1940, to date, with respect to the Faridpur district, the names of the persons—

(*i*) who have been arrested under the Defence of India Act and the rules thereunder;

(*ii*) the respective dates of their arrest;

(*iii*) who have been convicted;

(*iv*) the respective sentences passed on them;

(*v*) the divisions in which they have been respectively placed;

(*vi*) the dates when they were so placed;

(*vii*) who are still now undertrial prisoners;

(*viii*) how long each has been detained as such;

(*ix*) the divisions in which they have been respectively placed; and

(*x*) the dates on which they were so placed?

(*b*) Is there any rule for the guidance of the trying Magistrates in allocating different divisions to convicted and undertrial prisoners?

(c) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether those rules were strictly observed by the Magistrates concerned in the cases of the said prisoners?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (a) A statement is laid on the table. I am not prepared to supply the honourable member with the names of those arrested as I do not consider that in the public interest the names of these individuals should be divulged.

(b) and (c) Yes.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 193.

Number of persons and the rules under which action taken.	Date of arrest.	Date of conviction.	Sentence.	Classification.	
				Division.	Date.
(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
(1) One person under rules 38(5) and 39(6) of the Defence of India Rules.	25-1-40	23-4-40	2 year's R. I. ..	III	14-6-40.
(2) Ditto ..	30-1-40	Do. ..	1 year's R. I.	III	17-6-40.
(3) Ditto ..	Do.	27-4-40	2 years' R. I.	III	14-6-40.
(4) Ditto ..	9-2-40 ..	26-4-40	Do. ..	II	17-6-40.
(5) Ditto ..	24-3-40	6-6-40 ..	Do. ..	III	26-6-40.
(6) Ditto ..	24-4-40	10-6-40	1 year's R. I.	Case pending.	..
(7) One person under rule 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules.	20-4-40	22-6-40	2 years' R. I.	Do.	..
(8) Ditto ..	23-4-40	2-7-40	Do. ..	II	30-7-40.
(9) One person under rules 38(5) and 39(6) of the Defence of India Rules.	29-4-40	27-7-40	18 months' R.I. and fine of Rs. 200 in default R. I. for 3 months more.	III	27-7-40.
(10) Ditto ..	Do.	Do.	1 year's R. I.	III	Do.
(11) Ditto ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	18 months' R. I. and fine of Rs. 200 in default R. I. for 3 months more.	Case pending.	

Number of persons and the rules under which action taken.	Date of arrest.	Date of conviction.	Sentence.	Classification.	
				Division.	Date.
(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
(12) One person under rule 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules and under section 109, I.P.C., read with rule 38(5).	..	31-5-40	3 months' R.I. and fine of Rs. 250 under rule 38(5), 3 months' R.I. and fine of Rs. 250 under section 109, I.P.C., read with rule 38(5).	The persons have preferred an appeal to the High Court and are on bail.	
(13) One person under rule 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules.	..	Do. ..	3 months' R. I. and fine of Rs. 250 in default 3 months' R. I. more.		
(14) Ditto ..	..	Do. ..	Do. ..		
(15) Ditto ..	..	Do. ..	Do. ..		
(16) Ditto ..	..	Do. ..	Do. ..		

Number of persons arrested under Defence of India Rules.	Date of arrest.	Under trial.	How long each has been detained as such.	Classification.	Date.
(i)	(ii)	(vii)	(viii)	(ix)	
(17) One person under rule 56(4) of the Defence of India Rules.	25-3-40	Under-trial.	Since arrest ..	III	3-7-40.
(18) Ditto ..	29-3-40	Do. ..	Do. ..	II	29-3-40.
(19) Ditto ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Since 8-6-40 ..	I	14-6-40.
(20) Ditto ..	30-3-40	Do. ..	Since arrest ..	II	30-3-40.
(21) Ditto ..	8-5-40 ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	I	14-6-40.
(22) One person under rules 38(5) and 39(6) of the Defence of India Rules.	24-3-40	Do. ..	Do. ..	On bail	
(23) Ditto ..	17-5-40	Do. ..	Being dealt with under the B. S. T. O. Act.	II	17-5-40.

Number of persons arrested under Defence of India Rules. (i)	Date of arrest. (ii)	Under trial. (vii)	How long each has been detained as such. (viii)	Classification. (ix)	Date.
(24) One person under rule 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules.	31-5-40	Under trial.	....	On bail.	
(25) One person under rules 38(5) and 39(6) of the Defence of India Rules.	13-6-40	Do. ..	Since arrest ..	II	13-6-40.
(26) One person under rule 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules.	12-7-40	Do. ..	Do. ..	II	12-7-40.
(27) One person under rules 38(5) and 39(6) of the Defence of India Rules.	17-7-40	Do. ..	Do. ..	II	17-7-40.
(28) Ditto ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	II	Do.
(29) Ditto .	28-5-40	Discharged on 12-6-40.	....	..	..
(30) Ditto ..	17-5-40	Discharged on 25-6-40.	....	..	..
(31) Ditto ..	13-6-40	Discharged on 12-7-40.	....	..	..
(32) Ditto ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	..	..
(33) One person under rule 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules.	26-1-40	Released on 7-2-40.	....	..	..
(34) Ditto ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	..	..
(35) Ditto ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	..	..

Release of persons arrested in connection with Holwell Monument agitation.

*194. **Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware of the public opinion expressed for the release of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and several other

persons including the *satyagrahis* who have been detained or convicted in connection with the *satyagraha* movement?

(*b*) If so, what action have the Government taken in the matter?

(*c*) If no action has yet been taken in the matter, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is considering the desirability of releasing those persons at an early date?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) I am aware that such an opinion has been expressed by a section of the public.

(*b*) The matter is still under the consideration of Government.

(*c*) and (*d*) Do not arise.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state in view of answer (*b*), that the matter is still under the consideration of Government, whether this matter includes the case of Sri Narendra Narayan Chakravarty, a member of this House?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Yes.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether in view of the fact that the health of Sri Subhas Chandra Bose has deteriorated while in Jail, Government has considered the desirability of——

Mr. SPEAKER: The answer is there—that the matter is still under consideration.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether, apart from the consideration that he may, if released, restart the Satyagraha movement, any other consideration is troubling the Government?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry that question does not arise. What a man would do if released is a pure conjecture.

System of filling up the posts of Assistant Registrars by promotion of officers of the Co-operative Department.

*195. **Khan Bahadur MAULVI JALALUDDIN AHMED:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) when the system of filling up the posts of Assistant Registrars by promotion of officers of the department was adopted;

(*b*) how many posts have since then been filled up by promotions; and

(*c*) what are the qualifications of the incumbents?

MINISTER in charge of the CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT and RURAL INDEBTEDNESS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick): (*a*) Decision was taken in 1928.

(*b*) Nine.

(*c*) The incumbents were experienced officers of the department who put in 17 to 29 years of good service in the department as Inspector, Divisional Auditor or Chief Auditor prior to their appointment as Assistant Registrars. Five of them received training in the Gurdaspur Co-operative Training Institute, Punjab, two received special training in a firm of Chartered Accountant and one was a Fellow of the Institute of Incorporated Commercial Accountants.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: With reference to answer (*b*), how many of the officers referred to here in question (*b*) have been promoted during the régimé of the present Government?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: I believe it is 4.

Contractors for the supply of ration to Medical College and Campbell Hospitals.

*196. **Maulvi MUHAMMAD HASANUZZAMAN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the years 1936-37, 1937-38, 1938-39 and 1939-40, the names of the contractors who tendered for—

(1) milk,

(2) fish, and

(3) fruits for the Medical College,

(4) for milk only in the Campbell Medical School and Hospital?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the rates quoted by each contractor:

(*ii*) the names of those who were given those contracts in those years; and

(*iii*) whether higher rates were accepted in any of those years?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason thereof?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*), (*b*) (*i*) and (*ii*) Statements are laid on the Library table.

(*iii*) Yes.

(*c*) The reasons are explained in the statements laid on the Library table.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: From a perusal of the statement laid on the library table it appears that the police figures very prominently in this matter. Therefore, will the Hon'ble Minister please state how is it possible for the police to find out that the firm had no banking account or that its financial condition was not sound as has been mentioned in respect of most of the cases?

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: Well, the police are omniscient.

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I want notice.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: From the statement laid on the library table it appears that the rate with reference to milk quoted by the Tollygunge Dairy Farm is higher than that quoted by the Co-operative Milk Union. Will the Hon'ble Minister please state what is the quantity of milk that was taken from the Tollygunge Dairy Farm in preference to the Co-operative Milk Union?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahodur, of Dacca: May I make a statement on this matter, Sir? Since I have received this question I find that the matter is rather unsatisfactory and therefore I have proposed to institute an enquiry and to await the result.

Mr. SPEAKER: Next question.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Sir, I have got an important question to put with regard to the previous question, and that is with regard to the stealing of milk from the Medical College.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, I have called the next question. Moreover, the question does not arise, as there is no mention of "stealing" in the original question.

Terrorist prisoners.

*197. **Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of political (otherwise called terrorist) prisoners now in jails in Bengal;

(*b*) their names;

(*c*) the period of sentence each of them has yet to serve; and

(*d*) how many of them are prisoners who have not availed themselves of the offer of conditional release?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) Seventy-seven.

(*b*) and (*c*) A statement is placed on the table.

(*d*) Thirty-six.

Statement referred to in the reply to clauses (b) and (c) of starred question No. 197, regarding list of terrorist prisoners still in jails.

	Name of prisoner.	Unexpired sentence.		
		Y.	M.	D.
1.	Ananda Prosad Gupta	15	3	26
2.	Ananta Lal Singh	15	0	28
3.	Ganesh Ghosh	14	10	29
4.	Lal Mohan Sen	15	3	17
5.	Loke Nath Baul	14	7	25
6.	Sahairam Das	15	0	4
7.	Subodh Kumar Chaudhury	14	11	14
8.	Sukhendu Bikas Dastidar	14	11	18
9.	Monoranjan Banerjee *alias* Naresh Chaudhuri	13	3	16
10.	Sunil Kumar Chatterjee	11	1	21
11.	Suresh Chandra Das	8	6	7
12.	Narendra Prosad Ghosh	3	8	6

	Name of prisoner.	Unexpired sentence.		
		Y.	M.	D.
13.	Probhat Kumar Mitra	1	1	18
14.	Satyendra Narain Mazumdar	1	0	28
15.	Deba Prosad Sen Gupta	4	4	0
16.	Probhat Chandra Chakravarty	21	11	7
17.	Purnananda Das Gupta	30	7	27
18.	Shyam Benode Pal Chaudhury	6	3	16
19.	Sitanath De *alias* Brahmachari	20	3	25
20.	Jitendra Nath Gupta	18	11	13
21.	Hrishikesh Bhattacharya	17	8	21
22.	Prankrishna Chakravarty	24	3	23
23.	Kalipada Chakravarty	8	11	28
24.	Amulya Kumar Roy	14	5	0
25.	Benoy Bhusan De Roy	11	1	2
26.	Biraj Mohan Deb	37	0	5
27.	Haripada Bhattacharya	9	10	29
28.	Jagadananda Mukherjee	12	1	25
29.	Nalini Mohan Das	11	11	13
30.	Amulya Acharya	6	10	18
31.	Amulya Bhusan Chaudhuri	17	2	28
32.	Ashutosh Bharadwaj	15	6	2
33.	Sudhir Kumar Chakravarty	1	1	13
34.	Jyotish Chandra Majumdar	1	11	23
35.	Ramesh Chandra Chatterjee	6	9	15
36.	Priyada Ranjan Chakravarty	18	2	4
37.	Rajat Bhusan Dutta	5	2	17
38.	Kamaksha Charan Ghosh	12	8	5
39.	Sukumar Sen Gupta	12	6	17
40.	Santi Gopal Sen	12	7	18
41.	Hem Chandra Bakshi	17	5	26
42.	Purnendu Sekhar Guha	5	3	18
43.	Haripada De	5	0	28
44.	Pran Gopal Mukherjee	5	9	0
45.	Sachindra Lal Kar Gupta	4	1	9
46.	Mokshada Ranjan Chakravarty	18	2	4
47.	Narendra Chandra Ghosh	9	11	16
48.	Amulya Charan Sen Gupta	3	3	24
49.	Shibapriya Bose	0	11	1
50.	Sambhu Nath Sutradhar	0	11	1
51.	Satyabrata Chakravarty	2	6	9

	Name of prisoner.	Unexpired sentence.		
		Y.	M.	D.
52.	Gour Chandra Saha Das	1	4	1
53.	Promode Ranjan Bose	0	10	8
54.	Jatindra Nath Chakravarty	1	0	26
55.	Paresh Guha	0	10	3
56.	Jiban Krishna Dhupi	1	3	16
57.	Tejendra Lal Sen	1	0	22
58.	Nani Gopal Das Gupta	1	3	1
59.	Bimal Bhattacharji	1	6	14
60.	Prafulla Narayan Sanyal	2	7	11
61.	Soroj Kumar Bose	2	4	27
62.	Dwijendra Nath Talapatra	2	3	9
63.	Surendra Dhar Chaudhuri	1	9	29
64.	Surendra Mohan Kar Roy	15	3	26
65.	Kali Kinkar De *alias* Kali Kumar De ..	2	10	0
66.	Kumud Behari Mukherjee	2	3	3
67.	Dinesh Chandra Das	5	2	15
68.	Santi Ranjan Sen	1	3	16
69.	Manindra Lal Dutta	2	10	21
70.	Madhu Sudhan Banerjee	3	2	20
71.	Sukumar Ghosh *alias* Lonta	3	3	1
72.	Radhaballav Gope	2	3	27
73.	Prafulla Kumar Sen	7	3	3
74.	Himangshu Bhowmick *alias* Raja	5	3	25
75.	Jageswar Das	0	6	5
76.	Niranjan Ghoshal	1	7	14
77.	Ambica Chakravarty	16	0	20

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister please reconcile the figures of 77 and 36? He says that only 36 prisoners were refused clemency; therefore if 36 be taken out of 77 there will be a balance of 41. Why does he state 36 then?

Mr. SPEAKER: But subsequently some others might have been released.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I ask of him, Sir, because the Hon'ble Minister is expected to know the position. Will he kindly state how he reconciles the two figures?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not understand the question, Sir. I want notice.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether the remissions earned by them under the Jail Code have been taken into account in calculating the unexpired period of the respective sentences?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I ask for notice.

Mr. PRATUL CHANDRA GANGULY: With reference to the Hon'ble Minister's statement showing the unexpired sentences as 15 years, 25 years, 30 years, 37 years and so on, will the Hon'ble Minister please state if there is any likelihood of their being released before the invasion of India by an Axis Power?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: With reference to answer (*d*), will the Hon'ble Minister please state if Government is considering the desirability of doing something as regards these 36 prisoners who have not availed themselves of this offer of conditional release?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry I cannot allow questions regarding individuals. You may put a general question.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether there is any likelihood of these unexpired terms of sentence being varied by the Government of Bengal under the present circumstances?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Not at present.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Is the Government considering the question of burying the unexpired terms of sentence at a later date?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: It is difficult to give a definite answer. It will all depend on how things are at a later date. We cannot anticipate what will happen.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: With the international situation getting worse and worse, is the Government contemplating the desirability of releasing the prisoners before the jails fall into the hands of other Powers?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have abandoned their policy in regard to the release of prisoners through the machinery of advisory committee and their recommendatoins?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: No, but as far as I remember, the cases of these persons were not placed before the advisory committee, and it was on that ground that the Government appointed a committee to go into their cases and to recommend clemency wherever it was considered fit.

Dr. NALINAKKSHA SANYAL: Does the Government consider the desirability of continuing that policy or extending that policy of placing the cases of these prisoners before the Advisory Committee and following that up with release when recommended?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As I have already stated, it is not very long ago that Government have gone into the cases of all these prisoners very carefully——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Not through the Advisory Committee.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: We don't propose to put them up before the Advisory Committee.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Function of the Ceneral Outdoor of the School of Tropical Medicine.

102. Mr. PATIRAM ROY: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department aware that "sorting and prescribing" are the main work of the General Outdoor of Tropical School as published year after year in the annual reports of the School of Tropical Medicine?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the "sorting and prescribing" is the only function of the School of Tropical Medicine?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Operation of Defence of India Rules in Midnapore district.

103. Mr. DEBENDRA LAL KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state, with respect to the Midnapore district—

(*a*) the number of people who have been externed;

(*b*) the number of people whose movements have been restrained under the Defence of India Rules since their promulgation; and

(*c*) the number of families dependent solely upon the income of the externed?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) Ten.

(*b*) Three.

(*c*) None.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government enquired into the conditions of these particular ten families and found that they did not require any help.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: That is my report.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether that report came after consulting those families or without consulting them?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not know if the families were consulted, but certainly investigations were made.

Mr. ATUL KKRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the procedure of the investigations and the officers through whom these investigations were made?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, the District Magistrate was asked to make enquiries and send a report on these cases.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to submit the report of the District Magistrate to this House?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: No.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what objections they may have in submitting the report of the District Magistrate, from which they came to the decision that these families did not require any help?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: It is an accepted principle that the reports of subordinate officials are confidential.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when families are being affected like this, under what principle is Government going to withhold the report from the public?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: May I ask the honourable member if he knows definitely of any particular family that comes under this category? What is the good of asking questions without knowing facts.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: May I ask whether the Hon'ble Minister himself knows of any particular family that does not require any help whatsoever from those people externed?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: The Hon'ble Minister has asked me whether I know of any particular family which needs any help, so I put my question in a different form, whether the Hon'ble Minister knows of any family that does not need help.

Mr SPEAKER: As you are protesting against the Minister's question, I have to protest against your question.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I beg to introduce the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, is the Hon'ble Chief Minister, who is also the Education Minister, asking for leave to introduce the Bill?

Mr. SPEAKER: No, he simply introduces.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, we heard him say, I beg leave to introduce."

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Do you rule him out, Sir? Do we understand that he withdraws what he said?

Mr. SPEAKER: I heard him say, "I beg to introduce the Bill."

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, when he begs to introduce the Bill, it means that he begs leave to introduce.

Mr. SPEAKER: If he begs to introduce, it is not what you mean.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is that your ruling?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I do not know why the Hon'ble Chief Minister is afraid of introduction.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, there is no use raising a point like this. It is a purely formal and conventional matter. It has been the practice for Ministers in this House to say, "I beg to introduce." There are two forms, viz., "I beg to introduce" and "I beg leave to introduce."

(The Secretary read out the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I beg to move that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940, be referred to a Select Committee, and in doing so I wish to make a few introductory remarks explaining the provisions of the Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER: You have not moved your motion. Move it first, please.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Probably he does not desire to move it.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I am just moving it, Sir. Subject to your decision I propose to explain the provisions of the Bill, and then finally move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: The practice all along is that the motion is moved formally first, and the speech may be made later. So you are to move it first.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Very well, Sir. I move that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) Mr. Fazlur Rahman (Dacca),
(2) Maulvi Abul Hashim,
(3) Mr. K. Shahabuddin,
(4) Maulvi Muhammad Israil,
(5) Mr. Abdulla-al Mahmood,
(6) Maulvi Abul Quasem,
(7) Mr. Abdul Karim,
(8) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(9) Mr. Pulin Behary Mullick,
(10) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. Has the consent of Dr. Mookerjee been obtained?

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, I am sorry you are interrupting the proceedings of the House. It is my function, it is not yours to see whether the consent has been obtained or not.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am rising on a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, it is not a point of order. It is for me to consider. I have got the papers before me, and I shall enquire.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, in the case of non-official members, you have invariably insisted that no name of any honourable member should be moved before his consent is obtained.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. Will you kindly let us know whether you would follow your own ruling that was given in regard to non-official members, "when they move their motions in case consent is not obtained by a certain date or time, the motion cannot be moved." Will you apply that ruling now?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, Dr. Sanyal, that you have jumped up even before the Chief Minister has finished mentioning the word "Mookerjee". You have not given me an opportunity to hear him fully. I did not know what he was going to say. As soon as he has finished it, I shall consider the question.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed——

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, Dr. Mookerjee's consent has not been received.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: What I propose to do is to read out the names of the members that I wanted to include in the Select Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: That can be mentioned in the speech.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Very well, Sir. ——Mr. Shamsuddin Ahamed, Mr. Pramatha Ranjan Thakur, and the mover, with instruction to submit their report by the 30th November, 1940, the number of members forming the quorum being five.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: On a point of order, Sir. From your circular issued by the Secretary, being No. 144-215, dated the 16th August, 1940, we find that it has been circulated for the information of all the members of the Assembly that if a motion for reference of a Bill to a Select Committee is tabled down on the list of business for the 21st August, the consent of the members must be found in the office of the Legislative Assembly Department before 5 p.m. on the 19th August. Non-observance of the time-limit fixed by the Speaker will render the motion liable to be rejected. That is your order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is so far as the names are concerned, and not the motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That order is then withdrawn, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: To that extent.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You are revising that order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I think that is bad drafting.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am glad, Sir, that you have discovered it when this Bill is going to be introduced!

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, Dr. Sanyal, that you are obstructing the proceedings of the House in this way. You have seen that this drafting was not done by me.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: But we did point that out on the last occasion.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, you did not.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, it is a matter of great regret to me that members of the Select Committee whose names I had proposed do not include the members representing my friends of the Congress Group or the Hindu Nationalist Group. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No Hindu at all.) I had proposed to include in the Select Committee Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy and Mr. Atul Chandra Sen, but these gentlemen have refused to give their consent to serve on the Select Committee. In these circumstances, Sir, I have been obliged to limit the Select Committee to the twelve members whose names I have read out.

Now, Sir, with reference to the motion I have moved I crave your indulgence to place certain facts before the House. Of the importance of this measure I need say very little. Members are aware of the interest that has been aroused by the decision of Government to introduce this Bill and of the attacks that have been made upon us by those who are opposed to the reforms it embodies. I shall not refer in detail to those criticisms—ill-informed and premature as many of them have been—for I desire that a measure so fundamentally important to the people of this province should be discussed with as little bitterness and as much understanding as possible. I have sufficient confidence in the justice and efficiency of the proposals embodied in the Bill to believe, Sir, that if members will assimilate an accurate knowledge and understanding of the contents of the Bill, there will be no need for bitterness and little room for justified opposition. The combined ability of the Legislature can then be devoted dispassionately and calmly to making such minor changes and adjustments as may be considered desirable. It is my duty to make clear to members the reasons which led Government to undertake this legislation, to explain and to justify the nature of the proposals made and to attempt to remove from members' minds apprehensions that may exist with regard to its main proposals.

This Bill is not a hurried piece of legislation undertaken in order to transfer power from one body to another, or designed as a political

measure from motives that have emerged during the political developments of the past few years. It is a measure designed to ensure educational reforms that have long been needed and the urgency of which has been stressed by educationists for over twenty years.

The reasons why during this long period no effective reform was undertaken will be obvious as I relate what has already happened. The problem is far more urgent now than when reform was first advocated and, even if it were not, the failure of past attempts would be no excuse for my not undertaking this much needed legislation even now. The number of those attempts and the time that has been devoted by past Governments and the Universities to a consideration of the problem is however an indication of the importance of the issue. I propose at the outset of my speech, therefore, to make a brief survey of the past history of secondary education control. I would ask through you, Sir, that members should bear with me patiently and listen carefully to this survey for in it lies full justification for the introduction of this Bill even at this time when the grave issues of the war command so much of our attention.

The present unsatisfactory nature of the control of secondary education is in part a legacy from the now generally admitted unfortunate policy of providing facilities for higher education, in the hope that those so educated would undertake the responsibility of spreading education downwards. Universities were created and questions concerning the constitution and powers of these universities were the educational issues which attracted most attention. Little heed was paid to either secondary or primary education.

In 1902 a University Commission, while making proposals for the reconstitution of the universities, suggested that the universities should have power to recognize for the purpose of sending up candidates for the Matriculation Examination such schools as were recommended by the Department of Public Instruction. In the case of some universities this was accepted, but in the case of Calcutta it was ultimately decided to allow the university this power of affiliation without the restriction of the previous approval or recommendation of the Department of Public Instruction.

It is this clause in the Universities Act of 1904 which gives the University such authority, as it has hitherto exercised over secondary education in Bengal. I should be glad if members will note carefully the wording of this clause. The clause occurs in the list of matters about which regulations may be made. It is: "The conditions to be complied with by schools desiring recognition for the purpose of sending up pupils for the Matriculation Examination and the conditions to be complied with by candidates for Matriculation whether sent up by recognized schools or not."

It is this clause and this clause alone which confers upon the University of Calcutta its so-called traditional right to control secondary education in the province. In reality the clause confers no authority whatever concerning secondary education as such. I need hardly remind this Assembly that middle schools and madrassahs are important secondary education institutions in this province and the university has not, and never has had, any authority over these institutions. I shall refer later to the importance of this point. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the legitimate interest of universities even according to the Act of 1904, lies, not in secondary education, but in schools desiring to send up candidates for Matriculation. Moreover, even for such schools the concern of the university is restricted to the suitability of the training for the Matriculation Examination. In other words, Sir, the power given to the university was conferred in order to ensure that students entering the university were adequately prepared. It was an attempt to guarantee the efficiency of university work. It was never intended to give the university any control over secondary education or even over the non-Matriculation work in high schools. The university was constituted in order to supervise university activities. It is certain that its constitution would have been materially different if there had ever been any idea of allowing the university authorities to control secondary education. It is, I think, a legitimate criticism of the successive Governments of those days that no attempt was made to plan the control and development of secondary or primary education. In the absence of such control and planning, secondary schools grew up hapazard in their distribution and often unsatisfactory in their management. The demand for facilities increased rapidly. Government gave grants-in-aid to certain schools and exercised a certain amount of influence over these schools alone. They have, I believe, always been less than half the total number of schools and the individual grants given have not been sufficiently large to enable Government to exercise any effective control. As far as the high schools were concerned, the university gradually assumed the only control which existed because of the fact that the privilege of sending up candidates for the Matriculation was a highly valued one. Unfortunately the university had not in those days, and has not even now, any means of exercising that authority efficiently. That, Sir, is no condemnation of the university. Constitutionally it was not devised to exercise such control—financially it was unable to do so. The university has never had an inspecting agency of its own. For its reports it has been dependent upon the inspections of Government officers. With full co-operation, such a division of responsibilities might work smoothly, but when, as has sometimes happened, the relations between the university and Government have not been happy, the system has been almost useless. It is neither my purpose nor my desire to attempt

to apportion the blame for any disagreements which may have occurred between the Government and the university. It is a matter of history that the control attempted by such a system has on occasions been ineffective. It is not surprising therefore to find that the Sadler Commission unhesitatingly condemned the existing system and recommended drastic reform. It is over 20 years ago since that influential and authoritative commission met and made its recommendations. Its members were all educationists of outstanding eminence. Its deliberations were made in a purely educational atmosphere unbiassed by any political motives. Its recommendations have an authoritative value that carry weight the world over and which, in India, has never been equalled. Let me refer briefly to what they have to say concerning secondary education in Bengal. I can only give quotations, but these quotations are not chosen to illustrate a particular point of view. They give the considered, and, on these points, the unanimous, conclusions of the commission. It will be remembered, Sir, that Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee was a signatory to that report. They write:—

"The fact is that secondary like university education in Bengal has reached a stage at which further satisfactory progress is impossible without a complete reorganisation of the existing administrative conditions..... There can be no substantial improvement without reconstruction. The existing system cannot be patched up."

Could anything be more definite or emphatic than that? It was the unanimous verdict of an impartial and authoritative commission of which that distinguished and great educationist Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a member. Their remedy was to recommend the creation of a Board with executive powers in the sphere of secondary education. In order to simplify discussion, I shall in my reference to this commission's work omit all references to intermediate education for there is no difference of opinion that for financial as well as possibly for other reasons intermediate education should be excluded from the jurisdiction of the proposed board. It might well be asked, Sir, how it is that with such a strong recommendation before the public and such an unanswerable case for reform, we find ourselves to-day over 20 years later in the same hopeless position of inefficient control and chaotic development. It may be said that conditions have changed and the necessity for reform is not as urgent now as it was then. Conditions have changed, but the change has been for the worse. When the commission reported, there were less than 700 recognized high schools. There are now nearly 1,400, that is double the number. The constitution of the university is still the same, that is one not designed for secondary education control. The university still has no school inspecting agency. Girls' schools have multiplied enormously. The university has no special organization for dealing with them. Madrassahs and middle schools have likewise increased, the former by

nearly 300 per cent. Such examination reforms as the university may have introduced affect but little the general question of secondary education.

So far from time having brought its own solution of this important question every year that has elapsed since the Sadler Commission reported has seen the conditions grow worse. Successive Governments have tried to establish a controlling board, and successive Governments have failed. I shall not trouble the Assembly by detailing the various proposals that were made, but members should be aware of the frequency of the attempts and of the reasons for failure.

From 1920 to 1923 correspondence and discussions took place concerning the financial implications of the proposed reform and actual legislation.

In 1923 Government prepared a Bill and sent it to the university for opinion. The university rejected it.

In 1924 Sir Asutosh Mookerjee drafted a Bill dealing with the reform of the university and the establishment of a board. Nothing came of it.

In 1925 Government submitted a revised draft Bill to a Conference. The university through Sir Edward Greaves submitted counter-proposals for a board appointed by the university. No agreement was possible.

In 1926 Government submitted a further revised draft Bill to the university. The university considered it and made counter-proposals. No agreement could be reached.

In 1929 Government sent a new Bill to the university for consideration. The university proposed amendments to this Bill. The Bill was not proceeded with.

In 1937 a new Bill was sent to the university for opinion and later in the same year an amended Bill was sent. Differences of opinion on certain issues were acute and a Conference was called which met but dissolved in 1938 when it was clear that it was impossible to reach an agreed solution of the many problems involved.

The present Government refused to accept the impossibility of reaching an agreed solution as an adequate excuse for postponing the initiation of this much-needed reform and have therefore authorised the introduction of this Bill at the earliest possible moment. One of the reasons why this Government was not able to take earlier action was that, until the recent amendment of the Government of India Act, it was not quite clear as to whether this Legislature had power to enact a measure dealing with all aspects of secondary education. That power since April 1st of this year definitely vests in this Legislature.

It is not my intention to pass an oppinion on the merits or demerits of the past proposed Bills. This Government is not responsible for what has been done or has not been done by its predecessors. We cannot however ignore the lessons of the past. All attempts at producing an agreed Bill have failed. Conferences innumerable have been held. Voluminous correspondence has passed backwards and forwards and, as I shall show later, on certain points the differences of opinion are more acute than ever. I hold no brief for past Education Ministers or Executive Councillors in charge of Education, but I think that the Assembly should be aware of the fact that the Bills proposed have been sponsored at different times by Europeans, Hindus, and Muslims. No proposals have been acceptable to the universities. Compromise has failed and Government consider that the time has now arrived when an appeal must be made to the Legislature for a final and definite settlement of all the issues.

I hope, Sir, that what I have said will convince the House that the establishment of a board is an urgent necessity and that we are fully justified in introducing this measure for consideration by members. It is a long overdue reform.

I now pass on to a discussion of the main features of the Bill.

The Bill proposes to establish a large Board of Secondary Education to regulate and control secondary education. Secondary education embraces all education other than primary or university. Education in madrassahs and middle schools is thus included as well as education in high schools.

The board itself is a comparatively large body of fifty members designed to be representative of all bodies rightly concerned with secondary education. The Sadler Commission recommended a much smaller body of from 15 to 18 members. Conditions have changed since those recommendations were made. We now have a Legislature responsible to the people and also responsible for the educational welfare of the province. The number of schools has increased, girls' education has developed, and the situation has in general changed so that it is not possible to provide for the representation of all legitimate interests in a small body. This makes it inevitable that the large board while being ultimately responsible for secondary education generally, should confine its activities to discussions concerning main principles. The actual executive decisions of the board will be effected by a small specially constituted Executive Council. As the facts upon which this Executive Council will make its decisions are educational ones, the Executive Council consists almost entirely of educational experts. This Executive Council will have to meet frequently, and upon the way in which it discharges its responsibilities will depend very largely the success of the board. To assist the Executive Council

and also safeguard special interests statutory committees will be set up for girls' education, Muslim education and the education of scheduled castes. The Executive Council may also appoint other committees, but we consider it advisable to provide specially for the above ones as particular encouragement and assistance is considered necessary for the communities concerned. If it is thought advisable to legislate for other special committees, the provision of such committees can be considered by the Select Committee or by the Legislature itself.

The Bill also provides for the setting up of a Finance Committee, a Publication Committee and a Matriculation Syllabus Committee. With these two latter committees I shall deal later.

That, Sir, describes very briefly the machinery which the Bill proposes to set up in order to control secondary education. In order to avoid unnecessary discussions, I had better explain that consequent upon the establishment of this board, the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education which is at present functioning in the Dacca University area will be abolished. The schools in that area will be linked up with the rest of the schools in the province and in future the Calcutta Matriculation Examination will be open to students from the Dacca University area upon the same conditions as students from elsewhere. The present Intermediate Examinations which are conducted by the Dacca Board will in future be conducted by the University of Dacca. If amendment of the Dacca University Act is needed to allow of this, that amendment will be made.

It is desirable that I should now deal with what are known to be controversial aspects of this measure.

This Bill has been called a communal measure—communal because in the first place it guarantees the presence of Muslim representatives and in the second place because the number of these representatives is averred to be too large. Our critics state that there is no room for communal consideration in educational matters. This is a new discovery. The Sadler Commission stated: —

"There should be an adequate representation of Hindu and Muslim opinion and interests".. . ....

And in detailing the constitution of the Board they say—

"Its members should be so chosen as to secure the presence of not less than three members both of the Hindu and of the Muslim communities."

In all the Bills drafted by Government and in all the counter-proposals drafted by the university themselves, reservation of seats for Muslims was included until recently. It is true that the number of reservations was not large, but the principle had been definitely

accepted. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee who is now such a bitter opponent of this principle himself agreed to it when he signed the Universities Committee's reports on the Bills of 1925 and 1929. In 1937 the University Committee reporting upon the 1937 Bill stated that they were opposed to the principle of communal representation as such.

In the Conference held at my request about two years ago the university representatives again opposed communal representation. This Conference agreed unanimously that whatever constitution was devised that constitution should guarantee adequate representation to Muslim interests. It will be interesting to the Assembly to know what the university representatives considered adequate representation. They proposed a board consisting of 60 members. There was no reservation of seats for Muslims on the board. A study of the constitution of their proposed board reveals the fact that out of the 60 members there would be approximately 16 Muslims *if Government gave all its six nominations to Muslims and if this Assembly returned 4 Muslims out of its six nominees.* Even this 16 out of 60 would only be reached if the University Senate returned a Muslim representation from its quota of six. We have had bitter experience of the university's conception of adequate representation of Muslim interests. The Syndicate of the University of Calcutta consists of 17 members all of whom with the exception of two are elected. Of the 15 elected representatives on that body, except for this year when there are two, there has never been more than one Muslim during the last ten years and in the years 1931, 1932 and 1934 there was not a single Muslim. May I repeat that, Sir, in 1931, 1932 and 1934 there was not a single Muslim returned as an elected member on the University Syndicate which as everyone knows is its real controlling authority. It may occur to many members that there are a number of Muslims on the Senate. True, but their presence is due to the fact that the Senate is largely constituted of persons who owe their presence there to the much despised system of nomination. Moreover, the nominations are not by the university authorities but by His Excellency the Chancellor. There are, it is true, elections to the Senate by the Registered Graduates and the Faculties. But, Sir, so far as I can ascertain *not a single Muslim has ever* been returned by these electorates. Even Nawab Sir Syed Shamsul Huda was badly defeated by an undistinguished Hindu candidate, simply because the Hindu graduates would not vote for a Muslim even of the eminence of the Nawab. A similar fate awaited Dr. A. F. Rahman when he stood for election to the then Bengal Legislative Council from the Dacca University. Yet we are asked to trust to the ballot boxes in overwhelmingly non-Muslim constituencies for a satisfactory representation of Muslim interests. This is what happens even now, when the adequate representation of

the Muslim interests is left to the sense of justice of even distinguished authorities like the university ones. Sir, the Muslims are the majority community in this province, and they have a vital interest in secondary education and they rightly insist on having a just representation in its control and development. They claim the right to an effective voice in deciding the nation's educational policy. They do not deny an effective voice to other communities, but they can hardly be expected to tolerate a position in which their effective representation is not guaranteed as a right, but may be conceded by the good-will of electors of other communities. On this issue there can be no compromise. The Muslims will never consent to be beguiled into the acceptance of devices which are supposed to guarantee that our representatives will be returned. Proportional representation may be attractive in theory, in practice as members of this House are aware it breeds undesirable electioneering practices and communal bitterness and does not necessarily achieve the end for which it is designed. We have adopted in this Bill, Sir, the only device acceptable to the Muslim community and the only straightforward method of guaranteeing adequate representation of our interests. Once the Bill is passed and the number of Muslim representatives becomes determinate successive elections, whatever other issues they may involve, will not create bitter communal rivalries or engender dangerous communal passions.

The question of the actual number of the representatives of the different communities is of course a more debatable matter, and I would ask members carefully to consider the facts germane to this issue. The real issue has been obscured by the fact that the university has in the past assumed a certain amount of control not over secondary education but over high schools. We are concerned not with high schools alone, but with middle schools and madrassahs. We are concerned not with the Matriculation Examination alone but with the whole school careers of pupils in the lower classes as well as in the higher ones. There may be nearly 1,400 high schools predominantly Hindu and 2,000 or more middle schools, but in these latter there are many Muslims although the Hindus are in a majority. I would remind the Assembly, however, that over 800 madrassahs will come under the jurisdiction of the board. These madrassahs are not predominantly but entirely Muslim. Moreover, Sir, over 50 per cent. of the popualtion of this province is Muslim and this Muslim population depends for its advancement very largely upon the educational facilities which may be provided for it. Such being the case, how can anyone say that we have demanded an unjust representation? The board proposed consists of 50 members. Excluding the President whose community cannot at present be ascertained, there are 49 members of whom 22 will be Hindus, 20 Muslims and 7 Europeans. These figures are obtained by assuming existing occupants for the *ex-officio* posts and

assuming, as appears certain, that the Head Mistress elected will be a Hindu. In other words, Sir, there will be 44·9 per cent. Hindus, 40·8 per cent. Muslims and 14·3 per cent. Europeans. We have given the Hindus a greater representation than the Muslims and yet we are accused of being unjust to them. On the Executive Council, excluding the President, there will be 7 Hindus, 5 Muslims and 1 European. This gives the Hindus 53·8 per cent., the Muslims 38·4 per cent. and the Europeans 7·7 per cent. Even if the President be not a Hindu the Hindus will have 50 per cent. of the total members. Is this injustice? It may be, but it is not to the Hindu community. We might on a population distribution basis have demanded more seats for the Muslims, but we have tried to be fair and have given weightage to the Hindus because of their past achievements in educational spheres. As far as the provisions for Hindu, Muslim and European interests are concerned, therefore, there can, I think, be no justified criticism of our proposals. Criticisms can come only from those who are determined at all costs to retain the controlling influence in the hands of one community only.

I now refer to one aspect of the constitution of the board. It is extremely unlikely that, if the constitution remains as now formulated, any communities other than Hindu, Muslim or European will ever find representation on the board. This was not our intention but owing to last minute changes in phraseology, designed to ensure the return of a definite number of Hindus, this unfortunate result came about. It is obvious but there may be Indian Christians, Buddhists or members of other communities whose presence on the board would be an advantage. There will not, of course, be large numbers of such persons, but their total exclusion cannot be justified. I shall be prepared therefore in Select Committee to propose slight modifications of the constitution which will make this possible.

It may be argued that the university representation on the board is inadequate and the Sadler Commission proposals which gave a minimum representation to university interests of 39 per cent. may be quoted. We have allotted eleven seats to university representation, *i.e.*, 22 per cent. But, Sir, the board recommended by the Sadler Commission was a small executive board. On the Executive Council we have given 50 per cent. of the seats to university representatives. It cannot be said, therefore, that we have been unjust to them or less generous than were the Sadler Commission.

I have concentrated my remarks, Sir, upon the guaranteeing of adequate representation to Muslim interests. That is not because I am oblivious of the claims of other communities, but because it is upon this Muslim representation that criticism has largely fallen. As will be seen from the Bill we have likewise provided for Scheduled

Caste representation. Members of that community feel as we do that they have a right to representation on important educational controlling authorities. There are aspects of education for the consideration of which academic qualifications, no matter how high those qualifications may be, are not the sole qualifications. The Scheduled Castes are not content to leave the educational interests of their community to members of other communities. They may not as yet have such distinguished scholars or trained administrators, as other communities have, but they desire that their point of view shall be expressed by their own people. For this reason we have reserved seats amongst the Hindu representatives for Scheduled Caste members. Their educational interests need special attention, and it is hoped that the presence on the board of special representatives will ensure this.

I do not think that at this point, Sir, I need deal at much greater length with the constitution of the board. We have made provision for the representation of the universities, of the schools themselves, of the Legislature, of women educationists and of every interest which could without making the board impossibly large be justifiably included. It is intended in the eleven nominations left to Government to provide for such interests as have not specifically been included.

These interests include Agriculture, Medicine, Industry and Commerce. It is thought advisable that representatives of such interests as these should be nominated in order to ensure that the most suitable persons are appointed.

We have been criticised by educationists for providing for political representation on the board. It is not likely that this provision will find material opposition in this Assembly, but I should like to stress the reasons which necessitate the provision in order that the public generally may appreciate the position.

The Sadler Commission recommended the inclusion of a representative of the Assembly in their small board and their board was an executive body making final decisions upon purely educational issues. Our board is a large body whose duty it is to decide general educational policy and exercise general control over a smaller specialist executive authority. Surely the Legislature which finds money for secondary education is responsible to the country for educational welfare generally —and should ensure the co-ordination of primary, secondary and university education—surely this Legislature should have the right to representation upon a statutory board to whom is to be entrusted secondary education control. We have provided for such representation on the board itself, but in pursuance of a definite policy of leaving detailed administration to experts, we have not provided for representation of the Legislature as such upon the Executive Council.

I pass on now to deal with a criticism that has been widely made, namely, that the effect of the Bill is to officialise secondary education control.

This, Sir, is the kind of irresponsible criticism that can only come from those who are either ignorant of the facts or are determined at all costs to arouse opposition to the measure by the repetition of political shibboleths which by their phraseology immediately suggest something undesirable. What are the facts?

Out of a board of 50 members five and five only will of necessity be officials. Opponents to the Bill may say that the President because he is appointed by Government becomes an official. That is not so. He is appointed for a specific purpose and with specific duties. His allegiance is to the board. I would remind you, Sir, that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta is appointed by Government. That does not make him an official. Even if it is admitted that a full-time salaried person becomes in part, at any rate, an official that would only raise the number to six out of 50. There can be no justification therefore for asserting that there are too many officials on the board, for, as even a cursory scrutiny will reveal, all the officials are experienced educationists and moreover their experience has been largely in the secondary education branch. It is possible that by an inaccurate interpretation of the term "official," critics have included the members to be nominated by Government in an official block. There is no justification for this for they will not be officials. The Bill provides for 14 nominations by Government, and of these the three lady members are included as nominees partly because it is not possible to discover a suitable electorate. I would remind the Assembly that Government not only has a considerable interest in the field of secondary education, but also an inalienable responsibility. The Sadler Commission emphasized the fact that ultimately the Government must be responsible for educational matters. Since the Sadler Commission report the developments that have taken place in all parts of the world have made more and more clear this fact, that the government of a country is fundamentally responsible for the provision of education facilities. It may be wise to discharge that responsibility by creating authoritative educational bodies, as we propose to do in the case of the board, but a government that holds itself aloof from educational matters and is heedless of the deficiencies of control, administration and provision of facilities is a relic of the mediæval ages. Government cannot and will not divest itself of its responsibilities in this matter.

The provision in the Bill for nominees is in part an expression of this conception of the relationship of Government to education. This is not the sole reason however. Elections provide for the representation of certain interests only, and it is impossible by elections only to

guarantee the presence on any board of all persons who should by virtue of their qualifications or their interests be members. The nomination system has its virtues, though it is politically fashionable to deny them. Members of the Assembly may think that 14 nominations out of 50 is a high proportion. Again, I would refer them to the Sadler Commission. The Sadler Commission recommended a board consisting of—

(1) A President appointed by Government.

(2) The Director of Public Instruction.

(3) One M.L.C.

(4-10) Seven university representatives.

(11-15 or 18) Five to eight nominees of Government.

That is, Government had the power to appoint the President and in addition to having the Director of Public Instruction as an official representative on the board to nominate as many as 8 members out of a board of maximum strength 18.

They recommended a board, therefore, in which excluding the President 44 per cent. of the members might be nominated. On that board the nominated members together with the one official would have constituted a majority. Why then this opposition to nomination by Government? Is it that the nature of the Government has now changed? Perhaps those who now oppose the Bill were so in love with the former bureaucratic system of Government that they were prepared to trust it with powers which they consider the present popularly elected Government unfit to wield.

At first sight, it may appear that the number of officials in the Executive Council is unduly high. There will be five such out of fourteen. But of these five two will be elected by the board and all five will be persons having that intimate knowledge of school affairs and individual schools which is essential if the Executive Council is to discharge its duties efficiently. It is obvious that when discussing questions concerning the fitness of a school for recognition or the amount of financial assistance required by particular institutions the knowledge and experience of people whose life work it is to deal with such problems cannot be lightly dispensed with.

It may be, Sir, that the term officialization of control refers also to the fact that although the board will in practice be an almost independent body effecting detailed administration in all matters of secondary education certain powers are reserved to Government. What are these powers? First, Government appoint the President. This was recommended by the Sadler Commission. Obviously, the appointment is an important one, and the final decision on this matter

must be in the hands of Government, for we are responsible to the people for secondary education. I am aware that the university has at various times claimed the right to make the appointment or to nominate names from which the appointment should be made. Why should the university have this power, and if the universities as such are concerned, where does Dacca University come in? I do not think it can be seriously contended, Sir, that this is a matter for the university rather than Government. Again, Government according to the Bill must approve of the regulations. This has been opposed at various times by the university who again have claimed the right to exercise this power. What a strange claim! Even the university's own regulations are subject to the approval of Government, and yet it is claimed that when secondary education, for which Government has a far greater responsibility than in the case of university education, has to be controlled, Government ought not to exercise that power. May I quote again, Sir, the Sadler Commission on the responsibility of Government:—

"To whatever special bodies it may entrust the administration of the different grades of education, the State *cannot* abrogate the duty of exercising a general superintendence over education as a whole and of securing a balance and a well-proportioned development of all its sides."

It is because Government has this fundamental responsibility that it retains for itself such powers as approval of regulations, appointment of the President, approval of the budget and distribution of grants. Government is not prepared to shirk its responsibilities and to hand them over to any other authority, even to a university. The board is very largely autonomous but, as with every executive authority created to discharge a fundamental responsibility of Government, Government must have such a relationship to the board as will enable it to satisfy itself that the board works efficiently and satisfactorily. Only those who are determined at all costs to prevent the setting up of any authority which exercises powers now vested elsewhere could be guilty of designating this proposed legislation as an officializing of secondary education.

Another criticism that has been made against attempts at setting up a board of secondary education is that unless greater financial provision is made for assisting schools no improvement is possible. This is a far more justifiable criticism than the others with which I have dealt. It is not however valid to the point of justifying our not proceeding with reform until the funds required for a complete solution of the many problems of secondary education are available. No one would have been happier than myself if it had been possible to incorporate in the Bill provisions for greatly enhanced grants. I

know that additional recurring grants are needed and urgently needed. I know that additional grants of 30 to 40 lakhs of rupees per year could usefully be given to our secondary schools. If it were within my power to provide that money, I would do so. Members of the Assembly are, however, aware of the financial position of the province and of the financial outlook for the near future.

We have in the Bill provided for an annual grant of 25 lakhs and, in addition, for a grant to cover the cost of establishing the board. The 25 lakhs is slightly in excess of the whole of the grants provided in the current year's budget for secondary education in non-Government schools.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I know how long you will take to finish? You have already taken forty minutes.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I shall finish in ten minutes, Sir. Of course, interruptions are to be excluded.

Government will continue to maintain the Government schools until such time as the deprovincialization issue has been decided. It is, I think, a generous gesture on the part of the Finance Department to agree to a statutory provision for this 25 lakhs It is a great sum though admittedly not much greater than has ever before been provided. We may in other directions have to retrench expenditure, but for the present we are guaranting this amount. Moreover, it does not mean that Government will not, as soon as it is financially possible, provide greater sums for secondary education. The board will survey its field and determine its needs. The necessity for additional grants will be pressed upon the Legislature and the Legislature will always have the power, if the country has the money, to make the required additional grants

Inability adequately to finance the schools would be no justification for not proceeding with the necessary administrative reforms, though some critics have stated otherwise. The facts are against them. The Sadler Commission stressed the need for more funds. After affirming that greatly increased expenditure is necessary they stated:—

"But as a first condition to the effectiveness of such expenditure we would emphasize the need for a reconstruction of the existing system of educational administration."

In other words, they were convinced, as is my Government now, that the first thing to be done was to set up a new administrative system. We are setting up a board to which greater funds will have to be given in the future, but which can in the meantime do much useful work by planning an efficient system. If the whole of the

money required for complete overhaul were immediately available, it could not economically be spent, for the present distribution of schools, management of individual schools, conditions of service of teachers and school equipment leave much to be desired.

Before I leave the question of finance there are two other matters to which I should refer in order to minimise possible debate upon these issues.

The first is the question of the deprovincialisation of the Government schools. There has been a demand that Government should hand over the schools which at present are entirely financed by them to private governing bodies and should transfer the money thus saved for use as grants-in-aid to other schools. That question is still under consideration and it is, Sir, an issue not necessarily connected with this Bill. I do not wish to complicate an already contentious and somewhat elaborate problem by raising issues which are better dealt with separately, and I trust that members will therefore not raise this question. The matter is under consideration, though I cannot promise what will be done or when exactly it will be possible to place Government decisions before the Legislature. The second matter is the possible adverse financial effect of this measure upon the University of Calcutta. The University of Calcutta benefits to a considerable extent financially from its association with the secondary schools of this province. It makes very considerable profits through its conduct of the Matriculation Examination, and it also makes large sums of money through the printing of text-books for use in secondary schools. I shall deal with the Matriculation Examination later but, as we propose to leave the conduct of this examination with the university, the university should not be financially adversely affected by this decision. On the contrary, as the schools in the Dacca University area will in future send up their students for the Matriculation Examination, the university should benefit financially. The case of the text-books is different. I admit that the university will lose financially if this Bill in its present form becomes law. The prescription of text-books will be a function of a special committee and the printing of text-books may be undertaken by the board itself. It is hoped that the board will make considerable sums which will be available for the purposes of the board, including the distribution of grants to schools. We propose to take away from the university and to give to the board this privilege for two reasons.

In the first place secondary school work including the prescription of books to be used, the methods of teaching to be employed and the subjects to be studied are quite obviously not university matters but matters to be dealt with by any board controlling secondary education. In the second place we do not see why any aspect of secondary education should be made a source of financial profit to the university and

used for purposes not connected with secondary education. We desire to ensure that this source of income shall be available for the improvement of secondary education. For many years now the university has annually made lakhs of rupees' profit upon the Matriculation Examination and the publication of text-books. Not an anna has gone back to the schools. It is true that during the last two or three years the university has started a Teachers' Training Department and that in a sense the expenditure upon this may be regarded as a contribution to secondary education. During all the preceding years, however, the university calmly accepted large profits from its association with the schools and utilised these profits not to improve the resources of secondary schools, impoverished as these are, but very largely to develop post-graduate activities. Even now only a fraction of what is gained is spent upon the training departments. We object to this on principle. Secondary schools are in dire want of money, and it is unjust that profits arising from their activities should be utilized to swell the resources of the university—an institution which, however useful its activities may be—is financially in a far better position than are the secondary schools.

Lest I should be accused of being callous or indifferent to the welfare of the universities or even of deliberately desiring the financial embarrassment of the Calcutta University, let me hasten to add that we have no desire whatever to destroy the university or to cripple its activities. (Cheers from Coalition members.) The university has never found Government unwilling to give justified assistance for desirable developments. (Cries of "Question" from Congress members and renewed cheers from Coalition members.) On every occasion during the last fifteen years when the university has been able to show that increased grants were necessary Government has given grants to enable the university to meet its liabilities. My own Government accepted the recommendations of an inquiry and gave to the university a block grant which has enabled that institution to develop its activities in an unprecedented manner during the last three years. We know that we are depriving the university of one source of income and shall of course acknowledge this when—as must be the case next year—an inquiry is made as to the university's future needs. The five-year financial agreement is drawing to a close, and I can assure the university that if, after inquiry, we are satisfied that the university's financial position and its activities justify a revision of the present agreement, then the university has no need to fear that the present or future Governments, as far as I can foresee, will be any less sympathetic or helpful than past ones have been. Certainly this Bill has not been designed to impose financial hardships upon the university and there is no reason to suppose that the university's ultimate financial stability will be endangered.

Having dealt with the financial aspects of the Bill as it concerns the University of Calcutta, I pass on to discuss certain academic aspects which affect that university. We have decided to leave the conduct of the Matriculation Examination with the University of Calcutta. That simplifies the financial position of the university, for the university will still receive the fees from all the candidates who take the Matriculation. Moreover, the university will appoint all the examiners and will determine who shall pass. We have, therefore, left to the university the right to determine its own standards of admission. May I point out, Sir, particularly to those who accuse us of working to destroy the university that we have been more generous than were the Sadler Commission in this respect. They stated that no satisfactory reorganization of secondary education is possible in Bengal unless the three duties which now devolve upon the university are transferred to the board. "The first is the determination of the courses of study on the high schools. The second is the conduct of two very important public examinations (these were the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examinations). The third duty is that of deciding which of the English High Schools should be recognized. .. .".

For expediency, also because we feel that the duties of the board are sufficiently onerous in its initial stages, and in order to meet the point of view of the university itself, we are leaving the actual conduct of the examination with the university. At the same time we are ensuring adequate participation by the board and interested parties in other matters relating to the Matriculation Examination by setting up two committees. The first of these is called the Matriculation Syllabus Committee. To this body will fall the responsibility of deciding the syllabus of studies for the Matriculation Examination. This committee is purely an educational one consisting of the President of the Board, six university representatives, two inspecting officers and two head masters. Obviously, both universities must be represented on it. It cannot be said that we have allowed political motives to interfere in this academic matter. The universities have a dominating voice. The actual prescription of the text-books to be used in schools whether in preparation for the Matriculation or not is, we consider, an academic matter and one in which the board is more directly concerned. We have, therefore, provided for a committee with strong academic representation to deal with this difficult matter. The university's interests have been adequately protected in all that appertains to the Matriculation Examination. I shall not at this stage say any more on this issue. The charge that we have attempted ruthlessly to destroy the university's legitimate influence and the university's legitimate activities is entirely without foundation. We have, it is true, attempted to take away from the university responsibility for secondary education. That is a responsibility which it was never intended that it should either assume

or discharge, but we have adequately provided for the exercise of university influence and the protection of the university's rights at points where university education and secondary education meet.

Another criticism that has been freely used and that appears at first sight to be valid is that we have not sent the Bill to the university for criticism before introducing it in this Assembly. Undoubtedly, the university has a right to express its opinion on an important educational measure of this kind as its own interests are affected. If this Bill were an entirely new measure introducing changes previously not contemplated and about which there had been no discussions with the university, we should unhesitatingly have ascertained their opinions before making definite legislative proposals. But, Sir, such is not the case. I have previously discussed the many abortive attempts which have been made to create a board. All those attempts failed because of the impossibility of reconciling the university's point of view with that of Government. Government have time and again received the opinion of the university upon all aspects of the many varied proposals that have been made. It has become painfully obvious that the only result of attempting to frame proposals acceptable to the university is to delay indefinitely the enactment of legislation. Indeed, as indicated in the earlier part of my speech, in certain directions the gulf between the points of view of Government and the university widens. The university agreed to communal reservation in the earlier years—they reject it now. In their last opinion sent to Government in December, 1937, they state that they supported the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education under the general, but not meticulous control of the Senate of the university. In other words, they now consider that not Government but the University of Calcutta shall exercise such ultimate control over the board, as is necessary. They further indicate that the relationship of the board to the Senate should be much the same as that of the Post-graduate Councils. The university now definitely refuses to acknowledge that the Government has the right ultimately to control secondary education in the province. They arrogate to themselves that right. What possible good can come of carrying on negotiations while such opinions prevail? Not only does the university strenuously oppose proposals which will take away from it such power as it has fortuitously acquired over high schools, but it claims the right to be the general supervising authority on secondary education in general. It desires the complete abdication of Government from secondary education matters. Complete abdication, except that Government is to be allowed to provide such funds as are required!

All impartial educational opinion admits the necessity of Government's accepting responsibility for educational welfare. Constitutionally also the right is ours, but the university considers that the

right should be theirs. This is a position that we can never admit and that the university itself has not always claimed. The fact is, Sir, that the university has strenuously opposed all proposed Bills. Their objections have taken various forms and finally they took refuge behind legal obstacles which it was considered that we could not surmount. The legal obstacles have, however, been removed, and we have followed the only course likely to lead to definite results within a reasonable time. Had we again consulted the university we should again have had counter-proposals—correspondence over this matter and that, and then after great delay disagreement upon fundamentals.

Those fundamentals we have embodied in the Bill and on these we are not prepared to yield. They are:—

First.—The presence on the Board of adequate representation of the various communities must be guaranteed.

Secondly.—The Board must be largely autonomous and have complete control of all secondary school activities.

Thirdly.—Such ultimate control over the Board's activities as is necessary must be exercised by Government.

Assuming the acceptance of these principles, we are prepared to listen to criticisms of the details and other aspects of the Bill and to ensure that before the Select Committee starts its deliberations, an opportunity will be given to the universities to make such recommendations about the Bill as they think fit. Although we are asking the Assembly to constitute a Select Committee, we are also prepared immediately to circulate the Bill to the universities with a request to report before November of this year. The recommendations of the universities will then be considered by the Select Committee which will not commence its deliberations until after the date fixed for the receipt of the universities' opinion. We know the opinion of the Calcutta University on the previously mentioned aspects of the Bill. We shall welcome theirs as well as Dacca University's opinion (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Why not of the Government of Assam?) upon other aspects and upon the Bill as a whole. Sir, as you are aware, great publicity has been given to the opinions of those who are opposed to this legislation. A valued ex-colleague of mine has entered the controversy. In his statement as published in the papers, he admits the need for reform and the inefficiency of the present system. He admits the necessity for guaranteeing representation of my community, but he opposes the Bill on various grounds. I have already dealt with most of the points that he raises including the communal nature of the Bill and obviously this is no occasion for attempting to refute in detail the arguments of individuals. He, however, raises one point to which I must refer. He quotes the Sadler Commission as stating that

reorganisation must have a strong movement of public opinion behind it. He then goes on to say, "Has the Education Minister the solid moral support of the public behind him in favour of this Bill?" May I ask, Sir, what constitutes a strong movement of public opinion? Is it the loud vocal efforts of one section of a minority community which has at its disposal the columns of certain newspapers? It is unfortunately true that there is a section of one community that is prepared to go to any lengths to prevent changes. Their motives I will leave the House to judge. I claim, Sir, that there is a strong movement of public opinion behind this Bill, though that opinion may not be heard or have the publicity that the Opposition voice exploits. The whole Muslim community, constituting more than half the population, almost the whole of Scheduled Caste community, and many Hindus—although they dare not express their opinions freely—desire this reform. Is Government to pay no heed to the wishes of this large majority of the population and instead to listen to the dictates of the clamorous few? Sir, it is true that we have not the solid moral support of all. When vested interests have to be destroyed there will always be opposition—real and artificial—and if we were to await the coming of unanimity, we should wait for ever. That is of course what some desire, but our duty as a Government is clear. There can be no question that we have the majority of the country behind us in this reform and we shall do our duty. The Sadler Commission wrote their report when a bureaucratic Government not representative of the people was in charge, and they emphasized the fact that the will of the people should prevail. It is our intention to see that it does. I should not have raised this issue, Sir, had not my opponents done so. My chief reasons are educational ones, but if it is desired that discussion should centre round democratic considerations, we have as complete an answer in that field as we have in the educational one.

An article published in the newspaper this morning and contributed by the same author gives further criticisms of this Bill. From beginning to end, it is an attempt to prove that Government's intentions are to exercise a direct controlling influence in secondary education. A so-called analysis of the constitution of the board and its committees is made and astounding conclusions drawn. The writer is an expert in financial and statistical matters. No one knows better than he does how figures can be manipulated to prove any desired conclusions. But surely, Sir, never can greater ingenuity have been exercised than has been done in this case to prove the Machiavellian motives of Government. Listen to what assumptions have to be made in order to prove his contention. Instead of taking the existing personnel for the *ex-officio* posts, he assumes that they are indeterminate and later argues that they will be under the influence of the Government. He assumes that even the Vice-Chancellors of the universities will not be impartial.

but because Government have some voice in their appointment, will, even on educational matters, be subservient to the wishes of Government. He assumes that all the nominated members—whether European, Hindu or Muslim—will have no minds of their own but vote as they are instructed. He assumes that no Muslim has an independent opinion. He assumes that all officials, even when placed upon authoritative bodies as educational experts, will prostitute their educational opinions in obedience to the dictates of this Government. Could anything be more unjustified? These are the lengths to which our opponents have to go to find fault with the Bill. What is the logical conclusion of such a line of argument? If such reasons are valid, only one type of board will satisfy the author and remember that even he, Sir, admits that the present system is bad and that a board should be established. A board satisfying the conditions which our critics desire would have—

(*a*) a majority of Hindus including no officials, no nominated Hindus, and no Hindus such as Vice-Chancellors who owe their appointments to Government, although they might not be Government servants;

(*b*) a minority consisting of all the Muslim members, all the Hindu officials, all the European officials, all the nominated Hindu or European members and all Hindus who have any connection with Government, however remote.

Sir, need I say more? The analysis that I have previously given is in no way rendered invalid by biassed criticisms such as I have described.

Mr. SPEAKER: You should finish it now.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, may I have a few minutes more?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think it is better that you finish your speech. But you must try to finish by 6-40 when the House will be adjourned for prayer. After adjournment, I will call on Mr. Rai Chaudhuri to speak.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: All right, Sir.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee is one of our chief critics. In order to arouse opposition he had made, what are for an ex-Vice-Chancellor and a responsible public man, some most extraordinary statements. I do not know whether his speeches are correctly reported in the papers, but as they have not been contradicted, I assume that the reports are accurate.

Addressing the Calcutta teachers he asserted, "some defects there may be, but they are due to a paucity of funds." If this is true, why did the Sadler Commission say that the present system cannot be patched up and drastic reorganization is necessary? Why has the Calcutta University itself repeatedly agreed that some kind of board is desirable? We know that more money is needed, but why try to deceive the teachers and the public into believing that additional fund is all that is required. Dr. Mookerjee is reported as having stated that "after the Bill had been in operation for two years all their schools, 1,500 in number, would automatically be disaffiliated." This, remember, was stated as an absolute fact and of course constituted to the teachers a threat of economic disaster as a necessary consequence of the passing of the Bill. Dr. Mookerjee knows as well as any one that such a state of affairs will never come to pass. He knows that the board will automatically renew affiliations to all institutions about which reports and inspections are not available. He knows that no satisfactory institution is in danger of disaffiliation. He also knows, Sir, and I ask members to note this particularly, that the university itself in a report which he signed included this particular clause in their own Bill Government have adopted the period of time which the university and Dr Mookerjee recommended, during which existing schools should enjoy, unquestioned, their present affiliation. He now uses this aspect of the Bill in a public speech as a device for inflaming passions against Government. But, Sir, the most astounding part is still to come.

Having in this speech produced no reasoned statement such as one might have expected from a reputed educationist, showing why the Bill is unacceptable, but merely having made assertions which cannot be substantiated, he makes the extraordinary assertion that even if the Bill becomes law, they will not obey it, and he goes on to detail methods by which they will oppose it. I do not know whether many members of the Assembly have read that speech; if so, it must have given them, as it gave me, great sorrow. For an ex-Vice-Chancellor, a prominent member of this Assembly, a member of the Syndicate and a bearer of a revered name to indulge with so little reason in such extravagant threats is a matter of great regret. I can only assume that having to resort to such threats is an indication of the lack of real arguments for opposing the measure and that the thought of possible diminished power of the university has temporarily deprived that distinguished member of the Assembly of his powers of detached and impartial reasoning.

Another argument that has been raised is the one that the Bill should be dropped as it is controversial and during the war controversy should be waived. Could anything reveal the paucity of real argument against the legislation than this? I shall not waste time dilating upon this, Sir, but will merely say that while Government can promote

any kind of legislation that is constructive and necessary for the welfare of its people, it will go forward with such legislation provided that such contributions as it can make to the successful prosecution of the war are not thereby prejudiced. I cannot find any direction in which the introduction of this Bill makes more difficult the progress of Bengal's efforts to assist in the war.

And now, Sir, I have come to the end of the detailed discussion of the Bill itself. I have tried to present the relevant facts as dispassionately as possible and to avoid statements likely to wound the feelings of those who may oppose me. It has of course been necessary for me, in order to acquaint members with what has taken place, to refer to differences of opinion and to point out why we demand certain changes. In doing so I have tried to avoid using language likely to give offence. It would have been easy for me to attack and to attack bitterly those, whether they were within Government or outside Government, who have been responsible for the perpetuation of the admittedly inefficient and unsatisfactory system of present control. That system excluded my community and others from having an effective voice, and I might justifiably have expressed bitter resentment of this. But it is not merely to give an effective representation to any community—however just the claim to such representation may be—that I have brought forward this Bill. The inefficient secondary education available in this province is one of the main causes of our comparatively slow progress. Thirty years ago Bengal was foremost among India's provinces in providing leaders in all realms of human activities. Politicians, scholars, authors and Government servants—amongst these many Bengalis were to be found. That has changed. I do not grudge the other provinces their advance, but I sorrow at the fact that our progress has been slower, much slower, than theirs. The records of the Public Services Examinations of the last 20 years reveal how ill-prepared and unsuccessful have been our students. It is no use finding excuses and refusing to face the facts. Competent educationists ascribe this in part, and I see no reason to differ from them, to the unsatisfactory nature of our secondary schools. University teachers complain of the quality of the students entering the universities. Employers have no use for the ordinary product of the high school. We have as many high schools in this province as in the rest of India, but their equipment and work leave much to be desired. Other provinces have middle schools better equipped than are our high schools. For twenty years now the unsatisfactory nature of our schools has stood revealed. Each year that has passed has seen thousands of able young people passed through a machine that is out of date and incapable of lifting most of them above a monotonous low level of uninspired mediocrity. All honour to the few who have by their genius risen out of this mediocrity. I am not so foolish as to believe that the inefficient secondary system is the sole reason why so

many of our educated people see little in the future save unemployment and despair. But I do say that a more efficient system would have given them a better chance and have enabled the province still to lead the country. In pleading for reform I am appealing to members to rise above the bitter controversies of political differences and consider this issue from the point of view of national welfare.

If vested interests be in the way of national improvement they must go.

If individual prestige stands in the way of national progress it must be sacrificed.

If past traditions slow down the evolution of a more enlightened and efficient control, they must be thrown away.

We are witnessing to-day, Sir, a practical demonstration of how educational influences can mould entire nations into predetermined patterns. I do not wish to follow those patterns, but I desire to give to my country a wholesome educational scheme which will make possible the turning out of men and women equipped for the struggle for existence in such a manner that they have a reasonable chance of winning for themselves and their country happiness and prosperity.

I have no illusions as to the difficulty of transforming the present ineffective secondary education into a vital inspiring process. I do not claim that this is a perfect Bill. I do not even claim that the establishment of this board will guarantee the results we desire. Wise administration—more adequate funds—devoted service both within the schools and outside—and above all co-operation from all who love their country and their people—these are essential over a long period of time before we shall be even partly satisfied. But I do claim, Sir, that we are replacing a system in which progress is impossible by one in which the requisite progress can be made. I ask the co-operation of all members of this Legislature in passing into law with such amendments as we may consider necessary this much needed reform.

I ask the co-operation of the people of this province, when the board is established, in working it so that Bengali children shall have educational facilities and training worthy of their capacity and their aspirations.

We have no right to withhold from any child that which is its legitimate birthright, namely, the best possible education commensurate with its ability. We may have sharp differences of opinion about certain features of this Bill, but once the points about which we differ are decided, there is no room for dissension in the putting into practice of the main principles.

The educational welfare of our land, the happiness of its people, and the future of its children claim unity in this constructive work. A cry comes from the children—the children of the soil, the children of

the artisan, the children of the shopkeeper and the children of the palace, and it comes to us not as Muslims, not as Hindus not as Christians or Buddhists, but as lovers of Bengal. The cry calls for a better chance. Let us strive to give it to them.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 20 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st December, 1940.

Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and the Minister for Education has pleaded for a dispassionate consideration of the blessed Bill that he has brought forward before the Assembly. Everybody desires that educational problems should be discussed as dispassionately as possible. But the Hon'ble Minister ought to realise that it is difficult for a victim to be dispassionate before a would-be murderer approaching with a gleaming knife. That is, Sir, after all the feeling with which the Bill that he has just proposed to refer to Select Committee is regarded by all educationists in this country. The Hon'ble Minister has quoted the Sadler Report in justification of the Bill that he has brought forward. Now, Sir, the very chapter of the report which deals with the reform of secondary education and which proposes the new authority that should be constituted to regulate secondary education in this province starts with this paragraph:—

> "Those who have at heart the welfare of Bengal and wish the whole community to advance in unity of purpose and in economic power feel strongly that the country needs more and better education"

I emphasise the words "more" and "better".

> "and that no boys and girls should be shut out, either by the straitened means of their parents or by the remoteness of their homes, from access to the training which is best adapted to their capacity and designed to prepare them most suitably for citizenship and livelihood."

It would be better to express their views they observed in the following words:—

> "To improve education while at the same time making it more accessible; to adapt it to the needs of modern industry while at the same time guarding the needs of liberal culture; to raise the standards of university training while at the same time excluding none who should prove their competence

to profit by it. Such a policy would be both wise and lucrative, a good investment and the fulfilment of a public trust."

Now, Sir, while such are the sentiments with which the Sadler Commission began its report on the secondary education system of the province and ushered the recommendations in respect of its improvement, the Chief Minister standing here this afternoon has declared that a dangerous situation has arisen in the country evidently on account of the multiplication of the schools. Because in Bengal there are now about 1,400 high schools and 2,100 middle schools, therefore in his opinion a dangerous situation has arisen, and secondary education of this province cannot be allowed to run on such expanding lines. Now, Sir, what was the number of schools when the Sadler Commission reported? You know, Sir, that the Sadler Commission reported in 1919 and in the quinquennial year next following, i.e., 1921-22, there were 878 high English schools, 1,468 middle English schools, and 217 middle vernacular schools. But, Sir, what is the position now? There are now in the estimate of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister about 1,400 high schools in this province, that is, the number of high schools has increased by 50 per cent. when the number of students has also increased from 1,91,000 to 3,50,000, yet this 50 per cent. increase in high schools is considered a movement of secondary education on "dangerous" lines. Then, Sir, the number of middle schools was about 1,700 when the Sadler Commission reported, and the number of middle schools now is 2,000 or 2,100 when the number of students have also increased by about 15,000 and that again is another "dangerous current" on which secondary education is "drifting" in this province. Sir, one forgets and forgets very conveniently the reasons for such expansion, but it is unpardonable on the part of an Education Minister of this province not to know exactly the lie of the land so far as the position of secondary education in this province is concerned. There are now admittedly 3,400 to 3,500 secondary schools in this province. But it will be asked what is the number of pupils on the roll? Some 6 lakhs which work out to about 170 students per secondary school. Why is the number so few? It is because of the fact that two-thirds of the high schools are located not in urban areas but in rural areas and because 90 per cent. of the middle schools also are located not in advanced urban areas but in rural areas—rural areas not as densely populated as areas in an industrial country are expected to be—rural areas again which have not the facilities of communication like those in advanced countries—rural areas cut up by rivers and canals and served only by primitive means of communication. But it is because they are mostly situated in such rural areas that it has been possible for Bengal to attract even the rural folk to the secondary education system of the province. Therefore, as one of those Bengalees who

take pride in the advancement of higher education in this province, I for myself do not regret it, on the contrary consider it a matter of blessing that there are so many secondary schools in this province. Sir, let me refer to the question of secondary schools in other provinces and lands? You are aware, Sir, that no other province in India can compete with Bengal in the matter of secondary education. I ask, is the secondary school system more widespread even in those fourtunate countries where it is largely supported by local rates and heavily subsidised by the national exchequer? Take for instance England. What is the position there? There are at the present moment 1,700 and odd secondary schools in England, certified as efficient or enjoying grant, catering to the needs of about 5½ lakhs students, and will it be believed that about 50 per cent. of the schools there, even on the grant list, have on their rolls less than 300 boys? Can it be said, Sir, that all the schools are justified there if only the number of pupils be taken into account? In England, Sir, there are also many schools not recognised by the Board of Education there either as efficient or deserving of grant, and those schools also cater for a large number of boys there. That being the case, Sir, how can the expansion of that secondary school system here in Bengal alone be a matter of regret to any person except to one who desires to check the development of education I for myself cannot understand.

Now, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister further regrets that secondary education in this province is very little controlled. In fact, he goes a step further. The Statement of Objects and Reasons of this Bill opens with the remark that "Secondary education in Bengal is at present uncontrolled." Sir, nothing can be farther from truth. That such a statement could be inserted in the Statement of Objects and Reasons of a Bill propounded by the Education Minister of this province was quite unthinkable. You are aware, Sir, that nearly half, that is 5 out of 11 of the high schools of this province are aided schools and you are further aware under what circumstances those schools have to be carried on. They have to be managed by managing committees approved by the District Magistrates. Then, Sir, on the managing committee room has to be found for a nominee of the Education Department. Then, again, they have to submit to close inspection. So far as aid is concerned, the aid can only be secured by giving a written undertaking to the effect that such and such expenditure will be incurred and such and such scales of expenditure will be maintained. Then again, Sir, so far as curriculum is concerned, it is prescribed and fixed by the authorities and it has to be followed if the grant-in-aid has not got to go. If the text-books of the two topmost classes are prescribed by the university, the text-books of all the other forms have to be selected out of a list approved and recommended by the Education Department. And still, Sir, it is pretended that secondary education in Bengal is not controlled at all. Yes, it is not controlled to the

extent of the department exercising the power of life and death over these schools. That may be the case; otherwise, to say that secondary education is not controlled is an unmitigated nonsense, if not, falsehood. What about the other schools I shall be asked—schools that do not get Government aid? But, are they really uncontrolled—at any rate, academically? No. They are not uncontrolled. In this connection, Sir, let me refer to an expert opinion, to the opinion of an educationist of experience—not of a person that blooms into an educationist overnight. I am referring here to the book that has been written by Mr. Mayhew, named "Education of India (1926)." Mr. Mayhew was the Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces and in his book he wrote about the official control of education in this country thus:—

> "Education in India from 1854 has meant a system of schools, colleages and examinations ultimately controlled by the Government. The class under private management, missions, local committees or private proprietors has depended on the Government either for grant-in-aid which gives financial security and recognition which ultimately qualifies their students for examinations and Government service or for recognition alone. Regular inspection and submission to rules and regulations governing the curriculum, text-books and all details of organization and equipment have been the conditions of such support and recognition. It is true that Provincial Governments have delegated to universities in varying measure control or partial control of higher education by charging them with the framing of curricula and rules or the recognition of high schools or with both these tasks. But these universities have been the creation of the Government with governing bodies constituted and controlled by Government, aware always of the Government policy as declared by officials in their governing bodies and working always with the possibility of a Government veto on their proposed regulations. The ultimate power of the Government to take away what is given has always been recognised."

This is the opinion of Mr. Mayhew expressed years ago about the control of education in this country. Then, Sir, so far as the Auxiliary Committee of the Statutory Commission is concerned, they say that "the effective control of Government over secondary education is in no way limited even by the powers possessed by local bodies." Sir, it is only lately that it has been the subject matter of official propaganda that secondary education in this country is absolutely uncontrolled. But, Sir, even in the Government reports published a few years back you will find admissions to the effect that the high schools are sufficiently

controlled. You will find it stated in the Eighth Quinquennial Review (1927-32) on the Progress of Education in Bengal, that:—

> "The (University) School Code lays down rules for the management of non-Government high schools and affords a common basis for the department and the university to act jointly in the control of high schools."

While such is the administrative control exercised over the high schools, the position regarding academic control not simply of the university but of the Government is summed up in that quinquennial report thus:—

> "Government prescribes the syllabus and text-books for all classes except the top classes of high schools. The university syllabus and text-books are followed in these classes. The unaided schools are expected to adopt and, in fact, do largely adopt the departmental curricula and text-books, and the rules for admission, withdrawal, promotion and examination. The fear of forfeiting the scholarship and examination privileges secures compliance with the departmental rules."

Such is the observation that you will find not in any non-official writings, but in a recent quinquennial review on the progress of education in Bengal published by the Government themselves.

Now, Sir, what again is the other justification of this Bill? It is stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that expansion has taken place in an unplanned manner and has been rapid. Sir, why has the expansion taken place in an unplanned manner? It is simply because of the fact that the secondary education system in this province is not a Government creation. It is the creation of local need and of non-official enterprise, and it has been built up by voluntary contributions from the public and not by any substantial contributions either from the Government exchequer or from any local authority. That, too, was admitted by the Interim Report of the Simon Commission. In describing the various sources which contribute to the expenditure on secondary education they observed: "The proportion contributed by Government funds has increased in other provinces and in Madras and the Punjab it has been more than doubled within the last ten years. In the United Provinces and Assam about half the total cost of secondary education is now met from Government funds. *On the other hand, fees in Bengal bear almost two-thirds of the cost;* in Madras and Bombay half, in the United Provinces, Burma and Central Provinces only a little over one-fourth. Fees meet 63·9 per cent. of the total cost in Bengal and only 26·20 per cent. in the Central Provinces." And, Sir, the Bengal Government's contribution towards the total expenditure on secondary education has proportionately speaking further declined since

the report of the Simon Commission. On referring to the latest quinquennial review, you will find that it dwindled from Rs. 12,52,566 towards a total expenditure of Rs. 84,90,022 on secondary schools for boys in 1921-22 to Rs. 17,63,391 when the total expenditure rose to Rs. 1,38,47,606 in 1936-37. So far as the sum total of Government, Municipal and District Board contributions is concerned, the proportion has dwindled from 18·3 per cent. in 1921-22 to 15·8 per cent. in 1936-37 and to 15·3 per cent. in 1937-38.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (of Dacca): What about the Government grant?

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: This is the Government contribution to the whole bill of secondary education expenditure for the boys of this province. It includes expenditure on Government schools as well as on aided schools for boys. Mr. Fazlur Rahman ought to know that, as he is connected with a university.

Then, Sir, Government propose to plan and develop secondary education in this province by enacting the Bill before us and by contributing the magnificent sum of Rs. 25 lakhs to the funds of the proposed Secondary Education Board. What do the Government now contribute as aid to the non-Government secondary schools of the province *minus* the madrassahs? Well, Sir, they contribute Rs. 17,77,000, that is about 18 lakhs and if you take the contribution to the madrassahs into account you will find that almost the same amount which the Government are budgeting now for direct grants will be placed at the disposal of the Secondary Education Board, and we are asked in all seriousness to believe that this will go to improve and develop secondary education in this province. What is the total bill of expenditure of non-Government secondary schools of the province? So far as it appears from the latest department report for 1937-38 it is about Rs. 162 lakhs. It must have risen to 175 lakhs by now and it is proposed to develop all the schools included in this programme by an insignificant grant of Rs. 25 lakhs annually to the Secondary Education Board. Sir, if anything was sufficient to prove the insincerity of the whole scheme the fund that was going to be provided for the Secondary Education Board would go to prove that. (A voice from the Coalition Bench: "What about Caste Hindus?) It is the Caste Hindus who have built up by their life blood all these schools and you dare enquire what about the Caste Hindus! (Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN of Dacca: At the cost of poor peasants of Bengal!) Where do the poor peasants of Bengal come in? The schools are being run by the fees of the students and by voluntary contributions from private sources and not from any of the poor peasants of Bengal that do not receive their education in them.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (of Dacca): Your income is derived from poor peasants.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Now, Sir, I come to the other provisions of the Bill. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister quoted the recommendations of the Sadler Commission in all reverence. There were two conditions precedent conceived by the Commission to the introduction of such a Bill, but the Chief Minister omitted to mention one while he mentioned the other only. The Commission observed: "Such a reorganisation is impossible except on two conditions. It must have behind it a strong movement of public opinion and it must be accompanied by greatly increased expenditure from public funds." The Chief Minister omitted the latter portion and only made mention of the first. In his opinion there is a strong movement of public opinion behind it when there is a majority of members here to support him. But what should be the nature of the public opinion as conceived by the Commission? It has been explained by the Commission thus: "We would emphasise the need for a reconstruction of the existing system of educational administration upon lines which will encourage public opinion to co-operate more closely with the Government and will enable consideration to be given to the needs of national education as a whole" —not merely shouts of "Ayes" in this Chamber but active co-operation of all sections of the people to satisfy the needs of the nation as a whole. In other words, they expected that the Secondary Education Board scheme should be such as would enlist the active co-operation of the people as a whole. But, Sir, we find these preliminary conditions have not been fulfilled, and so far as the present Secondary Education Bill is concerned, it ought to be discarded when these preliminary conditions are not going to be satisfied.

Then, again, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister referred to the composition of the Secondary Education Board, and in describing the composition of the Board, he drew our attention to the facts that "interests" have been reconciled and so much Muslim representations have been given, and so much Hindu representations have been provided for and such other things. But, that is not the point, Sir. The point is whether the Board proposed in the Bill is really going to be an autonomous Board free from the control of the Government. It is not going to be such a Board. You will see, Sir, that out of 50 persons who will go to compose the Board, 14 will be nominated by Government, and there will be one appointed President, who of course in the opinion of the Hon'ble Chief Minister cannot be described as an official, but, Sir, the term official as defined by the Sadler Commission should mean one who draws salary from the Government. Now this will be a salaried appointment, and therefore he will be an official as the Sadler Commission understood the term official to be. Then you will find that 9 M.L.Cs. and M.L.As. will be elected by the Legislature as a whole, that is by the majority party. That is how the dice are loaded and loaded heavily in favour of the Government. There will be besides the 15 nominated members and 9 M.L.As. and M.L.Cs., ten *ex-officio* members of whom eight will be salaried officers of the Government

Thus the majority of the members of the Board will be either appointed by the Government or nominated by the Government or members who will look up to the Government for patronage or support.

(At this stage the blue light lit up.)

May I have a few minutes more, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: You may have five minutes more.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Thank you, Sir. I shall refer now to the constitution of the proposed Executive Council. The Executive Council will be composed of 14 members, and of the 14 members 6 will be *ex-officio* members, 2 Inspectors, *i.e.*, officials, 3 representatives of the Calcutta University, 2 representatives of the Dacca University and 1 Scheduled Caste. Thus of the 14 members at least 8 will be members under the control of Government. And so far as the representatives of the Calcutta University and those of the Dacca University are concerned, will they be elected by the respective universities? No. They will be representatives of the Calcutta University elected by the blessed Board and not by the Senate of the Calcutta University. Similarly, representative of the Dacca University will be elected by the Board. Let me read out the relevant sub-clauses: "three members of the Board, to be elected by the Board from among the representatives of the University of Calcutta . . ." and "two persons, normally resident in Calcutta as defined in clause (11) of section 3 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, to be elected by the Board as representatives of the University of Dacca... ....."

Sir, such is the Executive Council that is going to execute the policy of the proposed Secondary Education Board in the matter of the development of the system of secondary education in this province—a creation of non-official enterprise in the main. Our complaint is not so much that on the Board or on the Executive Council they are going to have so many Muslim members or so many Hindu members, as that these are going to be definitely political bodies, and the whole of the non-Government part of the secondary education in the province is going to be committed to the charge of a political body and not to the care of the educationists of the province. That is our main grievance.

Again, Sir, you will remember that so far as the Secondary Education Board was concerned, the Sadler Commission recommended that it would have certain other onerous duties to perform and thus recommended that the Government schools should also come under the administration of the Board. But what is the precious scheme that has been drawn up by the Government about the functions of the Secondary Education Board? Well, the Government schools are not certainly going to be deprovincialised and administered by the Board. Then, Sir,

the Sadler Commission recommended that the Inspectorate should be under the Secondary Education Board. But are the Government going to place the Inspectorate under the Secondary Education Board either? No. This is how they are going to respect the wishes of the Sadler Commission.

Then, Sir, what did the Sadler Commission think of the prospective development of secondary education, and what did they think of the necessary expenditure? They candidly observed that mere allegations of inefficiency will not do the miracle but "If the system of secondary education in Bengal is to be made thoroughly efficient, an annual expenditure, over and above fees, of not less than Rs. 150 lakhs, will have to be undertaken in the future" and, Sir, our Government is going to provide Rs. 25 lakhs in the sacred names of efficiency and of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Not only that. The Sadler Commission also recommended: "Even as things are, real improvements might be brought about by judicious changes in the curriculum, by helpful supervision and advice, and by a reduction in the emphasis laid upon mere examination success. But far more than this is necessary, even from the outset. Sufficient funds should be available to make it possible to give grants-in-aid to all the existing schools, and to set on foot a superannuation scheme for teachers."

(At this stage the red light lit up.)

I shall take one more minute, Sir. Government is now giving grants-in-aid to five out of eleven high schools at the rate of Rs. 130 or so per school. How it will be possible for the Secondary Education Board to provide grants-in-aid for all the existing schools with Rs. 25 lakhs placed at their disposal I cannot understand. The proposed scheme is all bunkum and nothing else.

Point of order.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: On a point of order, Sir. The honourable member who has just sat down began his speech with the word "nonsense" and later on finished it with the word "bunkum". Is that relevant, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not see any personal reflection in it, and I have seen rulings to the same effect elsewhere. (Cheers from the Congress benches.) If it had been in the nature of a personal reflection, I would not have allowed it. But as he has said, he spoke in that way on the Bill itself, and as such I do not think that it is irrelevant.

Mr. ABDUL HAKEEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it goes without saying that the dual control of secondary education is an impediment to the healthy progress of secondary education in this country, which is the crying need of the people at large. It was expected on that ground

that a Bill in proper form with ample opportunities might be forthcoming before the people of Bengal so that better efforts might be made for the advancement and expansion of secondary education throughout the length and breadth of this country. Unfortunately, however, the Bill in its present form does not conform to the standard expected of a Bill of this nature, and worthy of a popular Government.

Sir, I am not looking at it from any higher level than the level of poor Muslims (Cries of "Ah! ah!" from Coalition benches) who have, most of all, to benefit by the provisions of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Sir, while I was referring to the poor Muslims of this country there were cries of "Ah! ah!" from the Coalition benches, as if they have the absolute monopoly of sympathy for the Muslim masses. For the time being, they are no doubt the custodians of the Muslims of Bengal, and by means of an artificial majority carry the day, but that will not do in the long run. I know that it is not a very safe thing to rely upon the supposed favours of a party in power. With the change of circumstances, the party in power may also change and the whole thing may be changed at the instance of the new party installed on the "gadi." The Bill which has come in its present form may by a future Bill be mutilated and mangled at the hands of other people who may be bestriding the Treasury benches. Therefore, why should we not look at these things from a purely educational point of view based on eternal principles free from the party politics of the day with the beneficent object of propagation and development of education in the countryside?

Now, Sir, I cannot resist the temptation of referring to the proverb of a mountain producing a mouse! In this particular instance, however, the mountain of Provincial Autonomy has produced a hydra-headed monster! Powers of a giant have been given to kill, to throttle the existing schools without the Guardian Angel's benediction to foster and develop these and yet unborn institutions.

Sir, what is the crying need of the country purely from the Muslim point of view? It is that there should be a larger number of institutions in this country to carry the torch of education down to the very door of rank and file, all and sundry, but if we look to the provisions of this Bill, do we find any scope, any scheme, any guarantee for the fullsome growth of any institution at the instance of Government or at the instance of any private enterprise? Nothing of the kind. We are going to have only wide and rigid control over these institutions to clip their wings which is no less a tragedy than clipping an Angel's wings. And this wide control and wild regulation will defeat the pious object of the Bill in the ultimate run of things. I am afraid, a large number of private schools will be closed down as a result of this Bill. There is no provision in the Bill to help any private enterprise to start any new schools in backward and neglected areas.

Now, so far as secondary education is concerned, what are the essential things we have got to take into account? First of all, there must be quite a large number of schools—a network of schools all over the country in keeping with the saying that school masters are abroad. The second thing is that there must be an ever increasing number of school-going public to receive education. Thirdly, there must be an efficient managing committee to devise ways and means for the provision of an ever widening field of opportunities and facilities. Fourthly, there must be an efficient and sufficient staff to build the manhood of the country. If we look at this Bill from these points of view, what do we find? Merely supervising and controlling agencies, "with rule and line" to see the decline and fall of schools. What steps are you taking so that there may rise schools after schools for the intellectual regeneration of the masses?

Sir, another aspect of the thing comes into prominence in this behalf. The Bill intends to exercise control over all the existing schools of specified denominations. Now, there are Government-managed zilla schools and Government-aided private schools. There are also a vast number of private schools run and financed exclusively by private enterprise. Some of them are monuments of patriotism and philanthropy. But the Government are going to exercise the same amount of control over all sorts of existing schools to the same limitless extent. Government give the lion's share of the money at their disposal to Government schools, but what is the corresponding benefit that the privately-managed institutions receive from Government that want to bring them under domination? Government will control them, fetter them, chastise them, punish them, but will not give them anything to live and prosper up to the mark. I understand the psychology of the Muslim members of the Coalition Benches. It is clear that with the operation of the Secondary Education Bill, they will have some more members on the managing committees of private schools. Some condition will be laid down that unless they take so many Muslim members on the managing committees, their schools will not be affiliated. But mere membership of the committee of management will not go to foster and promote the cause of Muslim education in Bengal. It may give us a phantom. It will not give us any substance.

Sir, there is still another thing of which they are cognisant. It is this. So far as the Publication Committee is concerned, the Muslim authors expect to have a large number of their books recommended for study in schools. I know, so far they have been a neglected lot. These "mute inglorious Miltons" will have new possibilities, and some money will go to them through this channel. Sir, even that will not do. The real crucial question is elsewhere and the members opposite are unfortunately in colossal ignorance of that aspect of the

thing. Have they ever taken statistics of the existing schools in Bengal which are run and financed by Muslims? The scanty number will henceforth dwindle into nothingness under the proposed new dispensation. The Bill when passed into an Act will operate as a setback to Muslim private enterprise in this respect. If Government want to exercise beneficent control over these schools, they may be pleased to provincialise all schools to vitalize and energize them in the new light. So far there has been the cry for deprovincialisation of Government schools, but let us now raise the cry that Government should provincialise all schools so that all schools may come under the same fostering care and protective wings of Government!

Then, Sir, as I have already said, I am not opposed to a Bill in the proper form framed with vision and imagination which will, really and truly, promote the growth of secondary education in our country. But, Sir, I am opposed to the framework of the Bill as introduced in this House. In this connection, if I may remind the House of a momentous utterance of a British statesman, uttered in the House to which we all owe allegiance, namely, the Mother of Parliaments—the British Parliament—and if I can compare small things with great, I should say that this Bill is "far too wooden, far too iron, far too inelastic and far too ante-diluvion" to subserve its avowed purpose in these days of democarcy. To think of a well-finished, ornamental superstructure, and forget to lay a foundation, broad and wide and deep enough, is a fool's philosophy. If we look at the constitution of the Board, we find that nomination runs wild. At every step, there is nomination and nomination and nomination! It seems to have become the order of the day. Even when election comes, it comes in masquerade. "Nomination" is the shibboleth of Government and we are opposed to it. I know that there is nobody on earth who will grudge the Muslims in these days a larger share and a larger representation than hitherto enjoyed in any body. (Mr. Abdul Wahab Khan: This is news to us!) Yes, it is news to you because you are accustomed to know other news and echo your master's voice in season and out of season. Anyway, the whole situation is that if any people on earth would object to a larger share of representation from the Muslim side, you have got the key of the position, and by dint of the Alladin's lamp, can overnight metamorphose things according to your own will. But before you do that, please remember how many Muslim boys attend privately-managed schools and how many Muslim boys attend Government-managed schools and what fraction of the Muslim population in the country you represent here. The touch of "a magic wand" may not convert teeming millions, steeped in the darkness of ignorance, into educated classes as a result of mere controlling from outside. However, I was referring to the constitution. It strikes me first of all that in order to abolish the dual control that has been in existence

we need a change in the controlling authority of secondary schools in Bengal. But what is the position? First of all there will be the university, secondly there will be the inspecting officers under the Director of Public Instruction of the Government of Bengal, and thirdly there will be this proposed new Board. Therefore, from dual control we jump to triple control.

(Here the member reached his time-limit but was allowed to speak for two minutes more.)

Therefore, so far as the constitution of the Board and the other committees under the Board are concerned, the one thing to which I find objection is the presence of European members, the representatives of the European community, the representatives of European schools. I do not understand this. The European schools are managed and protected under statutory provisions. They have got nothing to do with the secondary education of our country. Why should they be on the Board? Then, Sir, if we refer to the Sadler Commission's report we find that it was contemplated that there should be an autonomous and independent Board for the control of post-primary and intermediate stages. I do not understand why should the Hon'ble Chief Minister stop short and neglect to include intermediate stages under the provisions of this Bill. As far as I see, if efficient schools in Bengal are permitted to open intermediate classes in their schools, higher education will be brought to the door of the rural people. Therefore, I suggest that if this Bill has got any chance of being reshaped, there will be inclusion of intermediate stages in this Bill. But, Sir, while passing on to other things I do not remain oblivious of the most outrageous provision in this Bill, viz., the provision which automatically disaffiliates all existing schools after a period of two years. I think it is absolutely monstrous. A school which has been in existence for half a century and has had a meritorious record, and whose outturn is very bright, even that institution would be disaffiliated automatically at the end of two years after the provisions of the Bill come into operation. It is absolutely ridiculous that this rigid provision should be there.

Then, Sir, a paltry sum of Rs. 25 lakhs has been placed at the disposal of the Board. I do not know how with this paltry sum the Board can cope with the situation in view of the further fact that a lion's share will be consumed by the zilla schools.

May, I now pass on to other things, viz., the most objectionable provision in the Bill again is the officialisation of the whole show. We expected that there will be less official control.

(Here the member reached his time-limit but was allowed to finish his sentence.)

So far as I see, this Bill has been ill-conceived, and ill-founded and is an anachronism in the year 1940, and it will only bring in disaster.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think it would not be possible for us to finish the discussion of this Bill by to-morrow. So there are two alternatives, viz., either to have an interval and take it up on Tuesday, or carry it on to Friday which is the day for non-official resolutions. At the same time, I think it will be probably desirable to carry the debate from day to day till we finish. I would like to have the opinion of the Opposition.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: I think, Sir, it would be better to leave the non-official business on Friday as usual, and we will finish it on Tuesday.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is all right.

Adjournment.

It being 7-57 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Thursday, the 22nd August, 1940, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 22nd August, 1940, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 214 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answers were given)

Government aid to District Board and Private Industrial Institutions.

***198. Maulvi MANIRUDDIN AKHAND:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture and Industries Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the present time—

(*i*) the names of Industrial Schools in the Province managed entirely at the cost of the Government;

(*ii*) the names of Industrial Schools receiving contribution from the Government; and

(*iii*) the amount of annual contribution given to each school?

(*b*) Have the Government considered any scheme for contributing to Industrial Institutes started (1) by District Boards and (2) under private enterprise?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE and INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (*a*) A statement is placed on the Library table.

(*b*) Yes. It is the policy of Government to stimulate technical and industrial education mainly by a system of grants-in-aid and funds are placed at the disposal of the Director of Industries with a view to enable him to carry out the policy.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: From the list placed on the library table it appears that no contribution is being made to

institutions like the All-India Village Industries Association, the Khadi Pratisthan and the All-India Spinners Association. So, will the Hon'ble Minister please state the reason why?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: These are amongst many other institutions which do not receive any subvention from Government and the reason is simply paucity of funds.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state why there is no such school in Howrah which is a very big industrial area?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not know, Sir.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether he will consider the desirability of having at least one well-equipped industrial school established in every district of Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: That is unfortunately not possible under the present financial condition of Government.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell us what contribution, if any, has been made by Government to the schools mentioned in the statement in the current year?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I think five industrial and technical institutions managed by district boards receive grants from Government. These are—the Kashi Kishore Technical School, Mymensingh; the Elliot Technical School, Comilla; the B. J. Technical School, Rajshahi; the B. P. Technical School, Burdwan; the Coronation Technical School, Khulna.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Sir, I want to know what is the amount that is paid to them?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I may say, Sir, that the amounts vary from Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 4,300.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether the reason for not contributing anything to any of the institutions I mentioned above is simply paucity of funds or is there any political reason behind it?

Mr. SPEAKER: Why do you bring in "political reason" when there is no mention of it in the answer of the Hon'ble Minister? I am sorry your question does not arise.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister please consider the desirability of starting an industrial school in Howrah at an early date?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, I shall be very glad if one could be started, but offhand I cannot say that one can be started in the near future.

Mr. ANUKUL CHANDRA DAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state if Government has any scheme for industrial and technical education throughout Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, honourable members probably know that there is an Industrial Survey Committee sitting just now to consider this question of the industrial progress of the province. They are now making a complete survey and as soon as their report is received, all these questions will be considered.

Mr. SPEAKER: As regards the remaining questions—Starred and Unstarred—I am afraid it will not be possible to take them up to-day as Sir Nazimuddin is absent, having taken my permission. So those questions stand over till to-morrow.

The Secretary will now read the message from the Upper House.

Messages from the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Secretary then read the following messages received from the Bengal Legislative Council:—

The Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 19th August, 1940, has agreed to the Bengal Jute Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1940, without any amendments.

The Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 19th August, 1940, agreed to the Bengal Revenue (Charged Expenditure) Bill, 1940, without any amendment.

The concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill, 1939, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 14th August, 1940.

Mr. SPEAKER: We will now resume discussion on the Secondary Education Bill.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

Mr. PRAMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the motion of my honourable friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri for circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. The Bill was published in the Official Gazette only the other day, and people outside the House could hardly get any time to discuss the Bill and ventilate their opinion on it. It is true that people interested in education have been thinking of constituting a Board to regulate secondary education in Bengal for the last 20 years, but the Bill which proposes to form such a Board has been brought before the House so suddenly that the people have no time to go through it from cover to cover. Sir, this is a Bill which vitally affects the Scheduled Castes of Bengal so far as their education is concerned. Since the Bill was published, I had occasion to meet some of the leaders of the Scheduled Caste community, and I came to know from them that the Scheduled Castes could not support the Bill as their representation on the proposed Board, Executive Council, and the various committees was absolutely inadequate and the Bill by no means could meet the educational demands of the Scheduled Castes.

Now, Sir, coming to some of the provisions of the Bill which affect the Scheduled Castes most, I should say first that the representation of the Scheduled Castes on the proposed Board is very inadequate. There are altogether 50 members on the Board. Of these only 5 are to be taken from the Scheduled Castes. Sir, can anybody think that these 5 would have any voice in a meeting of the Board? Besides this inadequacy of representation of the Scheduled Castes, the method by which these 5 members are to be recruited is most objectionable as they would be more or less nominated by Government and the Scheduled Castes as a community would have no power to send in their representatives independently to the Board. The result will be that these 5 Scheduled Caste representatives will be dominated by the strongest party in the Board, which would be obviously Muslim. Secondly, Sir, regarding the Executive Council its constitution is defective, and it is most defective from the point of view of Scheduled Caste representation. Only one in a body of 14 has been proposed to be taken as a member representing the Scheduled Castes. In some respects I think that this Executive Council is of more importance than the Board itself, as on its recommendations would depend the very life of the secondary schools in the Presidency. Recently there have been started quite a good number of high schools managed by the Scheduled Castes, and I am sure they would die an automatic death for want of adequate representation of Scheduled Castes in the Executive Council.

Thirdly, Sir, a Schedule Caste Secondary Education Committee has been proposed to be constituted consisting of 8 members, and it is not known whether they will belong to the Scheduled Castes or any other community, because it is not specifically mentioned in the Bill that they would be Scheduled Caste members. However, even if they belong to other communities, their representation would be either by Government or the Board. So to these two vital committees the Scheduled Castes as a community would not be able to send representatives of their own choice, and the said committee would have no independent voice of its own.

Fourthly, Sir, in the Publication Committee there is only one Scheduled Caste member. He being elected by the Board will have no voice in it. On the other two important committees, namely, the Finance Committee and the Matriculation Syllabus Committee, no Scheduled Caste representative is proposed to be taken. Under the above circumstances some of the important provisions of the Bill are not at all acceptable to the Scheduled Castes.

Sir, the Scheduled Castes being a very poor community cannot afford to go in for higher education. So the secondary education is their higher education, and this education is more necessary to them than any other communities in Bengal The Bill as has been presented by the Chief Minister cannot satisfactorily solve the problem of secondary education of the Scheduled Castes. In the Poona Pact it was one of the important provisions that a certain portion of the provincial revenues should be set apart annually for the advancement of the education of the Scheduled Castes, but, Sir, that provision has never been implemented by the Government, though the Poona Pact as a whole was accepted by His Majesty's Government in England. The Scheduled Castes have been disappointed there, and the present Bill is another disappointment to them. Considering all these together, I am firmly of opinion that this Bill should be circulated for eliciting public opinion.

With these words, I support the motion of my honourable friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a story told of a man who having read the Mahabharat was asked what lesson he had learnt from it. The reply came at once that the one great lesson, the only lesson, that he learnt was that a woman could have five husbands! A very interesting study of the epic no doubt! The many fine things of human life such as love, truth, and virtue depicted in the book had no appeal for the man, but what he learnt and could not forget was that a woman could have five husbands! Sir, the Hon'ble Education Minister like the man in the story has read the masterly report of the Sadler Commission, which seems to be his *vade*

mecum for all educational problems. The Hon'ble Education Minister has read the Sadler Commission report—*i.e.*, I presume that he seems to have read it—and the only lesson he learnt from that report is that the Sadler Commission some 20 years back had very strongly recommended that Bengal should have a Board of Secondary Education. Sir, may I say it is exactly like a certain being quoting scripture! The Hon'ble Education Minister while making it a convenience of the Sadler Commission for setting up a Board of Secondary Education after his choice conveniently forgets that there are some essential postulates in the Sadler Commission Report without which the recommendation cannot be understood. Sir, let us judge this Bill in the light of those postulates. If the Hon'ble the Education Minister will kindly read the report again, he will see what those postulates are. The first postulate is that the people, the public must feel that the proposed changes will give larger and more varied educational opportunities to the younger generations. The second postulate is that the freedom of the educational institutions must be maintained, and the third postulate is—the Hon'ble the Chief Minister referred to this postulate yesterday with a certain amount of heat—these proposed changes must have behind them a volume, a strong volume of public opinion.

Now, Sir, he who runs may read that the Bill under consideration is a carefully calculated negation of all these three postulates. Sir, coming to the first postulate, I do not see even within miles of the Bill any suggestion of larger and more varied educational opportunities offered to our younger generations. On the contrary, the Bill has in the name of control devised a weapon to destroy, to ruthlessly destroy, the magnificent superstructure of secondary education built up in the province by generations of sacrifice and service. Sir, I deliberately and advisedly use the term "magnificent," yes, the superstructure is as magnificent as might be under the existing circumstances. This Bill seeks to destroy this superstructure without giving us any better substitute. Sir, it seeks to destroy without building anew on more appropriate lines. I do not find on the proposed Board any representation of agriculture, trade and industry, which was so much and so strongly stressed by the Sadler Commission, and which if provided for might inspire us with hopes of larger and more varied educational opportunities offered to the younger generations.

Sir, coming to the second postulate, we find that far from respecting the freedom of educational institutions as stressed by the Sadler Commission, the secondary education in the province is tied to the chariot-wheels of an official-ridden Board and an Executive Council invested almost with dictatorial powers to make or mar education in the province as it may please them. Of course, they cannot make, but they can mar education. Let us for a moment consider how curiously

this Board is composed. Out of the total strength of 50 on the Board barely 50 per cent. will be elected. I must here sound a note of warning lest anybody might be deceived by the word "elected." There will be election of a sort no doubt, but it will be circumscribed by so many Nazi-like rules of election that Government will particularly have their own men on the Board even through the door of election, and thus the administrative machinery of secondary education in the province will be completely under the thumb of Government.

Then, Sir, there is the question of communal representation. Let me say at the very outset that we on this side of the House are on principle opposed to any communal representation on education bodies. We maintain that in the interest of nationalism, the sacred field of education must be kept free from all communal questions. Sir, in this matter I am in excellent company. It may be known to the House that the Hon'ble Education Minister has recently started a second grade college in his native village, which by the by is my village too, and may I tell the House that the staff he has appointed for the college is by no means Muslim in composition. It is rather Hindu in composition. Not that the Hon'ble Education Minister has any superabundance of love for the Hindus or any hatred for his co-religionists! He has simply appointed the best men available in the field, and in doing so he has simply done what every sane man in the field of education would do. Sir, our misfortune is that the Hon'ble Education Minister had said good-bye to this salutary principle while preparing the Bill under consideration and our regret is that he could not rise above the tyranny of the party that has put him into power. Sir, I do not like to go in detail into the communal character of the Bill. I shall only make two or three observations in this connection.

I say, Sir, that even if for the time being communal representation has to be considered at all, the ratio applied to the composition of the Board is absolutely uncalled for. If we take into consideration the number of schools—the Hon'ble Education Minister told us yesterday that 800 Madrassahs also would come under the Board—even accepting that fact though we are definitely opposed to bringing *tols* and Madrassahs under any denominational or State-managed body, I shall say, Sir, that if we take into consideration the number of schools, the number of students and the amount of money and labour contributed by the Hindus and Mussalmans respectively towards the advancement of secondary education in the province, that ratio is absolutely uncalled for.

My second observation, Sir, is that I might personally not be so much opposed to communal representation on the Board, if it were thrown open to election, open election, fair election, say from the whole body of Muslim graduates in the province. In that case, Sir, we might have the right type of Muslims, nationalist Muslims on the

Board, but under the present Government and under the proposed constitution we will have Government's own men, Pakisthan-minded Muslims on the Board. Let me submit, Sir, in all humility that that will be a positive danger to the education of the younger generation both of Hindus and Muslims who with the progress of time will more and more want sound secular national education in order to serve themselves and their common motherland exactly as young men and young women do in all free countries.

Sir, I have finished characterising the Board, exposing its ugly official and communal character, and this brings me, Sir, to our third postulate which has a direct bearing on the motion that is now before the House, namely, whether the proposed changes have behind them a strong volume of public opinion. Our answer to that question is an emphatic "No." The Hon'ble the Education Minister says "yes," as he said yesterday on the floor of the House. He simply made the assertion: "I know that public opinion favours this Bill." May I through you, Sir, put a simple question to the Hon'ble the Education Minister? What steps did he take to ascertain the correct public opinion on this Bill? The Bill was published only three weeks ago. Are we to believe, Sir, that correct public opinion in the province has been ascertained in the course of three weeks? It is neither here nor there to say that the question of the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in the province has been before the public mind for the last 20 years. The real question is how long has this Bill, that is now before the House—this Bill with these particular provisions, been before the public? I demand a straight reply from the Hon'ble the Education Minister. Sir, let not the Hon'ble the Education Minister like Louis XIV say: "I am the State, and my opinion is the opinion of the country." Being the head of Government which is called popular, may be, by courtesy he must consult public opinion, every shade of opinion on the Bill, forgetting for the time being that he commands a majority in the House. He may feel that as he commands a majority of votes in the House he need not ascertain the correct public opinion on the Bill, but let me tell him that he cannot inflict an unwanted Bill on an unwilling people. Sir, if and when this obnoxious Bill comes to be made into law, we shall know how to combat it as we did combat an executive fiat 35 years ago coming from a man much bigger than the Hon'ble Education Minister. If we could then unsettle "a settled fact," we know that we can do it even to-day. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Not to-day.) Yes, even to-day. Sir, I say that we can unsettle a settled fact even to-day. I know that this will involve us in a deadly conflict and so I would request the Hon'ble the Education Minister for goodness' sake to avoid this conflict, by dropping this Bill altogether; or at least let us avoid the bitterness of the coming

conflict by agreeing to send this Bill for circulation. I would request the Hon'ble the Education Minister to persuade himself to agree to this simple and reasonable request by overcoming the opposition of his party members.

With these words, Sir, I commend the motion for circulation to the acceptance of the House.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to-day to give my qualified support to the motion of the Hon'ble the Education Minister to send the Bill to a Select Committee.

Sir, my reasons are three-fold. The first reason is that my party has given me a mandate to support the motion; secondly, that the latest Education Commission generally known as the Sadler Commission has recommended the setting up of a Secondary Education Board; and thirdly, I submit, Sir, that I consider that the present proposal is a change for the better on the existing order of things.

Sir, let me explain what I mean by saying that it is a distinct improvement. At present secondary education is controlled and managed by the Senate, and I submit, that the constitution of the Senate is not such a desirable body as we expected it to be. The Universities Act of 1904 says that the Senate will be constituted of 112 members including the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor at present is His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and the Vice-Chancellor under the Act of Incorporation is to be appointed by the Provincial Government. Of the remaining 110 members, ten will be *ex-officio* members; twenty will be elected and the remainder will be appointed by His Excellency the Chancellor. Of the twenty elected members also, the election is subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor. Therefore, the present Senate is absolutely a Government body. The nominal election of twenty members is nothing. So the present proposal is a distinct improvement constitutionally.

Now, Sir, of the ten *ex-officio* members it is also appalling. The list contains the names of persons beginning from His Excellency the Governor of Assam to the Principal of the Presidency College.

On other considerations also, I submit, that this is a distinct improvement. This university, this Senate, never responded to the call of the nation. The late Mr. C. R. Das and our esteemed Bengal leader Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose have called it "*golamkhana*." They took recourse to picketing. They made call after call to this university to respond and nationalise it, but it never did so, because constitutionally it cannot do so. The late Mr. C. R. Das had to establish a national college near Wellington Square. What kind of treatment

did we get, Sir, when we went there? We went to picket this university, and some of the distinguished people of this university trampled us under foot. May I now ask what sort of national institution it is? Then again what kind of treatment was meted out to the students who went out to jail at the call of the esteemed leaders of the country. Some of these students were not allowed admission and some of them were not allowed to sit for the examinations. (Cries of "Question, question" from the Congress Benches.)

Then, Sir, if it was called *golamkhana* only ten years back and not only that—even in 1934 I distinctly heard the esteemed leaders of Bengal call it *golamkhana*—I do not understand how the position has changed within these few years. So, how can we support it now? At a particular time, the police were requisitioned by the university authorities to belabour the volunteers of the Congress. These are the things which we know about the history and the constitution of the present Senate.

Then, again, Sir, when a section of the students of the Calcutta University proposed to boycott the Convocation and other functions, the university authorities celebrated the Foundation Day and compelled some of the students to salute the Flag and sing "God save the King" and such other songs. So much the better! But I submit there are other aspects and other typical things which cannot be explained. No doubt, I admit that the University imparted literary education which has inspired aspirations in the hearts of our young boys, but I must say that it has done more mischief than one could expect. Could this university resist the influence of the foreign Government? Did they teach us anything save and except "England's Work in India" to instil the spirit of love for Imperialism of the British Government? Did not they teach us the absolutely false story of the Black Hole? Did not they teach us the story of Tarasundari and other things? Did not they teach us the stories of Rajput chivalry concocted by the British writers? Is this nationalism? Is it not following the theory of divide and rule initiated here by our foreign masters and has not this university—the senate—practically worked as agents of Imperialism? Besides the literary flush, it taught us nothing of nationalism but everything which goes against nationalism.

Sir, may I ask—could this university against the wish of our masters introduce vocational training? I wonder, in this twentieth century, a university like the University of Calcutta is only teaching poems and literature and all these things! Did not the nationalist leaders ask this university to introduce vocational training in order to industrialise the province? Did the university proceed a step further in this direction?

Then, again, what did this university do to improve the lot of the teachers of secondary schools? I know personally that the poor teachers give receipt for Rs. 50 a month, but they actually draw only Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 a month. (Cries of "Shame! shame!" from Coalition Benches.) This is the usual state of things in Bengal. What did this university or the senate do to improve the lot of these teachers and along with it the lot of the students?

Sir, secondary education is practically under the control of dual authorities—one authority is the Government Inspecting Staff beginning from the Director of Public Instruction down to the School Sub-Inspector and the other authority is the senate—the university. Generally they have not pulled on well and as a consequence the secondary schools are in extreme misery. Sir, I am connected with some of the secondary schools which suffer incessantly for nothing but for the quarrel between the university and the Government agency, and as a result education itself subsequently suffers.

Sir, this university practically produces the major portion of clerks. The Act of Incorporation passed in 1857 gives us indication that at the inception the intention of the Government was to produce clerks only by giving diplomas to persons who had passed in Literature and Science and other things; and so far as I remember, Lord Curzon expressly said that "as it was very difficult to get clerks from foreign countries, we established universities to produce so many of them for our Government offices and *Saodagari* offices."

Then, Sir, may I now ask whether this policy of the university with respect to secondary education has changed a bit? They have carried out this policy of the foreign Government for the last 100 years or more. They could of course produce aristocratic people who are enamoured of soft-handed labour, who detest hard-handed labour and who are not fit even to handle a hammer or a scythe. Their education is detached from the ordinary social life of the mass population and the lower middle class were left untouched due to the higher cost of education. May I ask what worse thing can be done, what worse education can be given by a Board of Education that may be established by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq? I think he cannot give any worse thing to us. Then, Sir, it is said that this Board, if established, will hamper the progress of the nation. If that be so, then why do you give this half-hearted opposition to this kind of Bill? Our leaders of the Nationalist Hindu Group are opposing the Bill tooth and nail. May I ask if it is known to them that it is the decision of the Cabinet where four Ministers from the Nationalist Hindu Group are sitting

tight; why don't they ask their Ministers to resign? If they do not resign, why do the Nationalist Hindu members follow them in the lobby and why do not the Nationalist Hindu gentlemen vote against these Ministers? I know, these Hindus of Bengal once made it possible to paralyse the Government. On account of the Aligarh speech of Sir Abdur Rahim, these Nationalist Hindus refused to work with him and he could not form a Cabinet. I cannot believe that the Hindu Nationalists cannot compel these four of their Ministers to resign from the Cabinet. When this Ministry was formed, my esteemed friend Mr. J. N. Basu submitted from his Nationalist Party two lists to His Excellency the Governor—one containing names from the Caste Hindu Group and the other containing names from the Scheduled Caste Group, and from these two lists five Ministers were taken. Of course, one of them has resigned, but still four are sitting tight. If they were very sincere about it, rather if the nationalist Hindus are very sincere, if they believe that this Bill will retard the progress of this country, let them come forward and compel the Ministers to resign; they will get support from the great Congress Party, from the Scheduled Caste members and the members of the Krishak Proja Party. Why do they stand half-way and boycott the Select Committee, but not the Cabinet? They are not sincere about it.

(Here the member reached his time-limit, but was allowed 5 minutes to finish his say.)

So I say, compel your Ministers to resign; bring the downfall of the Cabinet at once, and in this we are ready to help you. If they do not do that, then I say Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee is not very sincere in his attempt. Now the late lamented C. R. Das called the university a *gokamkhana* and Sir P. C. Roy said that if he had the power he would bring it down in one day. (A voice: "He did not say the whole of it.") He wanted to abolish the Law College and a part of it and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the famous editor, wrote volumes about it. Fortunately enough, the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq is doing a part of at least what Mr. Das, Sir P. C. Roy and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee wished to do. Now this does not mean that I am enamoured of this Bill. But the present constitution of the university is worse. There is something which, I say, is a distinct improvement. In the body proposed out of the 50 members 25 are going to be elected. Then again this body has been made more democratic for all sections of the people. Scheduled Castes, females, Muslims, Anglo-Indians and Europeans are all brought here in order to serve in the committee. I might submit, Sir, that education is a thing which should be run on non-party lines. All sorts of persons should be brought in and their advice taken. It should be a non-party organisation, and everybody

should contribute to its improvement. I think the advice of the great poet Rabindranath Tagore should be followed here who says—

এস ব্রাহ্মণ, শুচি করি মন
ধর হাত সবাকার
এস হে পতিত কর অপনীত
সব অপমান ভার
এস এস তবে, এস এস ত্বরা
মঙ্গল ঘট হয়নি যে ভরা
সবার পরশে পবিত্র করা
তীর্থ নীরে

Then again three advisory committees are going to be established, viz., the Muslim Education Advisory Committee, the Scheduled Castes Education Advisory Committee, and the Females Advisory Committee. I think this is also a distinct improvement. Now about the evils which should be done away with from this Bill. They have increased the number of *ex-officio* members by 100 per cent. in the composition of the present constitution of the senate, a body of 112 members there are 10 *ex-officio* members. But in the proposed body of 50 they have kept the number of 10 intact, that is, they have increased the number of *ex-officio* members by 100 per cent. This should be done away with.

Then comes the system of nomination. In a body of 50 they are making provision for nomination of 15 persons. I belong to a party which is strongly opposed to any nomination.

I draw the attention of the Cabinet to the attitude taken by the great Congress Party. The Ministry must be prepared for some sort of trouble in Bengal, if the Congressmen do not change their attitude. We want this body to be an autonomous body, there should not be any interference by any Government whatsoever, whether it be a Congress or a Coalition Government. Secondary education will create the genius of the country. Therefore, it should not be any political organisation or propaganda machine, and the system of nomination should at once be done away with.

Then, again, there is no proposal for financing it adequately. There is no planned system of education, no statutory direction how this secondary education should be developed, and there is no provision for lowering the cost of education, so that it may reach the lower strata of society also.

Again, I have other fears. This Bill, after being passed into law, may be postponed just like the Primary Education Act for ten years or twenty years due to the opposition of the Nationalist Hindu Party,

or any other party whatsoever. I want that the objectionable features of the Bill be done away with. I want that this Bill, if passed into law, should be brought into operation without delay.

I shall explain the position of my party. We shall serve in the Select Committee and try to remove the objectionable features that I have enumerated. If we fail to do that, we shall define our position at that time. We sincerely hope that the Hon'ble Minister of Education and the Cabinet will look to the attitude taken up by the Congress Party and the Krishak Proja Party. If half the people of the country go against it, this Bill is no Bill at all. Therefore, immediate and prompt steps should be taken to improve the Bill, and I want that the Bill should be passed into law and given effect to as soon as possible.

With these few words I support the motion of the Education Minister.

Mr. JATINDRA NATH BASU: Sir, it appears from the Statement of Objects and Reasons that Government intend that secondary education should develop in this province according to a planned scheme. Sir, I have looked carefully through this Bill, and I listened to the address of the Hon'ble Chief Minister. Neither in the Bill nor in the Chief Minister's speech do I find any plan or any scheme showing the way in which secondary education is intended to be developed. The Bill lays down a machinery for controlling the system of secondary education, but it does not say as to what lines are going to be adopted for development. Sir, as has been pointed out by some of the previous speakers, secondary education is imparted in this province by about 1,400 high schools. Of these schools about 50 are State schools, a certain number are schools aided by the State, and the rest are schools which do not receive any aid from the State. Sir, in State schools Government have had complete control to lay down any scheme or any plan intended for the improvement of secondary education, but so far we have not seen any scheme introduced in the State schools for the development of secondary education on the lines on which Government want it to develop. Sir, in respect of aided schools it was pointed out by some speakers yesterday that there had always been a very large amount of Government control, but even in those schools no attempts have been made to regulate either the management or the courses of studies in such a manner as to realise the plan that Government has in view. Sir, in these days we come across talks about planning a great deal. There has been in some big countries five-years' plans. I once had occasion to read a book which showed as to how that plan had been carried out in those countries. They wanted to populate waste areas,

to industrialise large areas and to give employment to a large number of people, and there was the plan and the steps that were taken were with a view to carry out that plan. But in this Bill we have no plan, no system laid down or indicated showing as to how Government is going to proceed to develop secondary education. Sir, it was pointed out in some of the previous speeches that of the entire cost of secondary education in this province, about 15 per cent. was contributed by Government. That 15 per cent. includes the total cost of the State schools also. The rest of the cost is found by the public. Sir, you are expecting the public to place themselves entirely under the control of this new Board. It is with their money that secondary education has gone on in the past and will go on in the future. But although you want their money, you do not tell them as to what is the plan or scheme on which these institutions should proceed. That is very hard on those who are expected to pay voluntarily for the carrying on of secondary education in this province. Sir, the Bill intends that not only secondary schools but middle schools should also be included in the body of institutions which will be under the control of this Board. Sir, middle schools teach the scholars up to a standard when they can leave school and be employed in such capacities as errand boys and the like, while those who pass out at the Matriculation stage find employment as clerks, shop assistants and so forth. Therefore, I do not see any reason as to why these two classes of institutions are contemplated to be brought together under the same control, and as to why things that are taught for the lower standard should be mixed up with institutions training up to a higher standard. As regards the control, it should be noticed that practically there is no representation of the persons who are carrying on the work of secondary education, namely, the teaching staff of the secondary schools and of the persons who pay for the education, namely, the persons of the locality from which the students come to take advantage of the institutions. There are no doubt 5 Head Masters and one or two Head Mistresses proposed to be brought on the Secondary Board. But the work of secondary education is conducted not only by the Head Masters but also by the very large body of teachers whose opinion cannot but be of very great help in the practical carrying out of any scheme of secondary education. These persons should be given the privilege of sending representatives to the Board. Then, Sir, the money for the schools, for the actual working of these schools, is found by the governing bodies and these governing bodies too find no place whatsoever in any of the constituencies which are to send representatives to this Board, which will have to deal with the question of expenditure required for the carrying on of the schools. We know that, but they have no voice as to how the school is going to be managed. These things should be looked into, but they are unfortunately absent in this Bill.

Then as regards other matters, there has been an attempt to dissociate the Secondary Board from the University. In other countries the university has the right to decide as to who should enter its portals. But that function is going to be taken away from the Calcutta University. Not only that, Sir, but by clause 52 of the Bill various things are going to be taken away from the university, and it is amongst other things going to be provided as follows:—

"Notwithstanding anything contained in the Indian Universities Act, 1904, or in any regulation made thereunder:—* * * *

(*4*) the said university shall not specify or publish any text-book or other publication for use in any secondary school."

Sir, text-books are written mostly by university men and these text-books are often published by the university. But you are going to bar these secondary schools—you are going to exercise control by stopping those schools from using text-books published by the university. Why? Sir, suppose one of my friends to my left (the Coalition Party) is a specialist in a particular subject, History or any other thing, and writes a good history of the Pathan or Moghul period of the history of India, though it may be an excellent book containing the result of the most recent investigations in that subject, but because it is published by the university it cannot be prescribed as a text-book. Sir, that is a state of things which shows a certain amount of animus against the university and not any real desire to advance the cause of secondary education. Broadly, the Bill lays down the machinery of control. But in matters of education if there is too much control, progress may be so clogged that ultimately the advancement of education may languish, and, the progress of education in the province will ultimately suffer. Then we have not only the main Board, but also Sub-Committees. The Sub-Committees include a Sub-Committee which will lay down the text-books to be studied in the schools. Sir, in that respect the present system is that the University of Calcutta lays down the curriculum for the Matriculation Examination and also lays down some text-books which should be studied by those intending to appear at the Matriculation Examination. But so far as can be made out from this Bill, it is not only those who study in what may be called the Matriculation Class, who will be compelled to study certain text-books, but the Sub-Committee may lay down text-books for all the other classes, which these secondary schools consist of. The result is that you may hamper the growth of real and sound education. There may be a text-book on Indian History or English History which finds favour with the Secondary Education Board. There may be a much better book on Indian History or on English History which the governing body of a school may desire to place before the students of

that school for study. But under the scheme in this Bill, the control will be such that that particular Sub-Committee will have the power to lay down not only the curriculum but also the actual books to be studied by the students. That is exercising excessive control. I therefore support the motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri for the reason that it is not possible to so alter the Bill as drafted that you could have in it the methods by which the intended progress may be effected. If the Government had so prepared the draft that a machinery for regulating advancement of secondary education was set up so as not to interfere too much with the working of the institutions and without discouraging those that have for a century and a half gone on paying for the advancement of secondary education, then it would have been possible to have it altered on the right lines by a Select Committee. But it has been drafted in a way that it is not possible to so alter it.

It should be remembered, Sir, that secondary education in this province to a great extent owes its progress to the impetus given to it in the early years of the 19th century by some distinguished Englishmen and Scotchmen. Those that have studied the history of secondary education know of the work of Captain Richardson and the Scottish watchmaker, David Hare, who gave his all for the cause of secondary education here and who desired that he should be buried amongst the Indian students. His tomb is to be seen in the College Square in Calcutta.

Sir, it is on the lines so laid down that progress of education has gone on. But all that is going to be brushed aside for the establishment of a system particulars of which are not shown anywhere either in the speech of the Hon'ble Chief Minister or in the Bill itself. I think we should be very careful not to upset the system by the exercise of control without affording the public a full opportunity of knowing the intention and trend of the measure. If Government takes over the entire control of secondary education and of all the institutions and runs them, then the entire sum of Rs. 160 lakhs which is now required for conducting secondary education in this province will have to be found by the Government, whereas now the bulk of that cost comes from voluntary contributions. It may mean additional taxation of the poor tax-payers of this country. We will have carefully to consider all these questions before we accept this Bill. I therefore support the motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.

Mr. SYED MUSTAGAWSAL HAQUE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I begin to speak I must congratulate the Hon'ble the Chief Minister for bringing forward the Secondary Education Bill in this House. Sir, the Secondary Education Bill has evoked vehement opposition from

interested quarters, and it has been condemned as the most reactionary piece of legislation. Mr. Speaker, Sir, any reform, any piece of legislation that is introduced by the Government or initiated by this side of the House is dubbed as communal by the Opposition. The Opposition including Mr. Abdul Hakim who claim to be the sole representatives of public opinion and not the Ministry that has the support of the entire Muslims, and larger section of the Hindu community of the province, has always the anti-communal slogans to bamboozle the public. The tenancy legislation, the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act and the Money-lenders Bill have been condemned as communal pieces of legislation, but how radical have been the results of the working of the Acts! Sir, the Calcutta Municipal Act which was condemned as the most reactionary piece of legislation has in fact in its actual working done the wonder that no amount of progressive politics of the Opposition could ever dream of. It has ushered in a new era of communal peace and harmony. The Hindu and the Muslim city fathers forgetting their differences are working in perfect unison for the good of the city of Calcutta and has thus killed communalism.

Now, the Secondary Education Bill is the new target of the Opposition members. But they forget that the proposed legislation is neither new in principle nor communal in spirit. It has been the insistent demand of the public and the eminent educationists alike for the last 20 years that some scheme should be formulated to relieve the University of Calcutta from the responsibility of conducting secondary education and that there should be an independent and separate body to take the entire charge of secondary education of the province. The dual administration of secondary education resulting in the division of power between the Government and the autonomous university has been a very weak machinery for its efficient control. The control and the development of secondary institutions divided between the two separate and even at times antagonistic bodies resulted in their haphazard and inefficient management. The delay in arriving at a decision that requires immediate solution consequent upon the dual administration has been another weak feature of the existing system. Conflict of jurisdiction and huge expenditure are results of the existing system. The university is allowed to make a lucrative business out of the examination fees and sale of the school text-books, but are very little interested in the improvement of secondary schools. Not a single pie has been spent for the improvement of secondary schools. The resources are diverted in other departments without any justification. This has been left for the Government, which having no interest, also neglected or gave very scanty care. This being some of the many defects of the system, there has been insistent demand from the public that secondary education should be controlled by an independent machinery. Moreover, on principle, it being felt that the university should have nothing to do

with the control and management of secondary education, the establishment of the Secondary Board was considered to be the panacea of all the existing ills.

Sir, the Sadler Commission, as early as in the year 1917, strongly deprecated the then and now existing system of secondary education. Such eminent personalaties as the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Dr. Ziauddin, who were members of the Commission, and others were fully convinced that a reform of secondary education is absolutely necessary. Thus, we see that the proposed measure far from being a new measure is, in fact, a long overdue piece of reform. But Ministers under the previous Reformed Constitutions were not sufficiently representative in character, and therefore they could not or perhaps did not take any steps in this direction. It is, therefore, quite creditable on the part of the present Ministry and in keeping with its representative character that after all the longfelt want of the country is going to be mitigated. Yet, I must be failing in my duty if I did not point out that the interest of the community that I have the privilege to represent in this House has been overlooked. The proposed Muslim representation on the Board to be set up is too meagre to enable the community to voice its will. In the proposed Board out of 50 members the Muslims can have a maximum pool of 19, which to a rank Hindu communalist must appear to be unjustifiable. The figure neither represents the strength of the community nor can it represent the growing number of Muslims going up for secondary education. Due to, and after the introduction of, free primary education in all the districts of Bengal, the number of Muslim students is sure to swell up, and it will not be an idle dream to think that in course of a few years the proportion of the Muslim students to Hindu students will just reflect the numerical strength of the respective communities.

Sir, there is one defect which I think I should point out to this House, and that is that the examination in the high schools has been left outside the scope of the Secondary Education Bill. Sir, I feel that this can be remedied when the matter is taken up in the Select Committee.

Sir, with these few words I recommend that the Bill be referred to the Select Committee, because, after all, any defects which might be found in the Bill can be remedied there by mutual discussion.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the motion which stands in the name of my friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.

Last night I heard with religious attention and reverent admiration the wonderful manuscript speech which the Hon'ble the Education Minister read in introducing his motion for reference of the Secondary

Education Bill to a Select Committee. I should have wondered, Sir, whether the time was opportune for a measure of this kind. I should have wondered, Sir, whether the booming of guns in Flanders plains, the drone of aeroplanes outside our country yet, whether the clang and the clash of arms and ideals had attracted our attention at all. Do we hear from this Assembly the resounding and also the subdued crash of falling Empires? Sir, as I was listening to that speech, I seemed to visualise over the gilded dome of this Legislative Assembly Spitfires emitting their venom of flame and Hurricanes rising beyond the limits of the sky.

Mr. Speaker, the Hon'ble the Education Minister travelled down the stream of time. He rode at anchorage in the year 1902. May I ask him to-night to go back six years earlier—perhaps half a century earlier still? I know that he obtained his Master's degree in 1896 from the much maligned University of Calcutta. The secondary schools—the high schools in this province—came into existence in 1857 when the Act of Incorporation, *i.e.*, Act II of 1857, was passed. Since that eventful day till yester-night for 83 long years the secondary schools in this province which are called high English schools had been under the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta. We hear now rumblings against the exercise of that jurisdiction. We heard the Hon'ble the Chief Minister say that the control exercised by the university is chaotic, that the distribution of schools throughout the province suffers from maladjustment. Mr. Speaker, these two criticisms were not levelled against the system so long as the Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta University were our white masters. White masters to my mind resemble white elephants. The Burmans used to worship them in the past, and we would probably worship them with still greater devotion if they were not extinct. From 1857 to 1906 no cry was raised that the system of diarchy was fallible. In fact, when in 1904 Lord Curzon got the Universities Act passed through the assistance of the then Law Member Sir Thomas Raleigh, he made a specific provision in the amending Act of 1904 that the University of Calcutta should have control over the conditions of recognition of high aided schools presenting candidates for the Matriculation Examination and that the University of Calcutta should have control also over candidates who would present themselves for such examination. That was no new innovation. That was the system which was pursued from 1857 down to 1904. Possibly the legal ingenuity of the Law Member of the day wanted to give that system, which the Hon'ble Education Minister has described as "traditional authority," a legislative recognition.

Mr. Speaker, the Hon'ble Education Minister referred to certain passages from the Sadler Commission's report. I know the Hon'ble Minister of Education works very hard. May I assume to-night that he has very carefully read the fourteen musty and rusty volumes of the

Calcutta University Commission's report? I should have wondered that the Calcutta University Commission's report in 14 volumes was sleeping in the dusty upper shelves of our Secretariat Buildings like the 14 famous points of President Woodrow Wilson. The League of Nations is supposed to be operating still. Will this Bill which is supposed to accept the principles of the Calcutta University Commission's report operate? Prophecies are risky and they have become still more risky in these days of uncertainty.

Mr. Speaker, Sir Michael Sadler is alive. I happen to know him, and, as a camp-follower, I had something to do with the Calcutta University Commission. None of its recommendations has been accepted in these 20 years by successive Governments of Bengal and last night such was the surging urge for reform of the system of secondary education in this province that even a pending Bill—the Agricultural Produce Markets Bill—had to be suspended so that this Bill which was published only three weeks ago in the Official Gazette must have at once legislative recognition. We all know, Mr. Speaker, that the Government of the day has a huge majority behind them. We know very well that possibly our European friends will step into the same lobby with their followers. If that is so, then why do they not do a very simple act—pass a Bill of Attainder in three sentences that this Bill be passed into law and that whoever opposes this Bill shall be attainted of high treason? The system is not unknown even in England. In the days of Charles II such Acts were passed, viz., the Test Act and the Conventicle Act. Let us in these days of the Huq democracy have similar legislation.

The Hon'ble Education Minister referred to the Sadler Commission's report. It is true that that Commission recommended the creation of a Secondary Board of Education, but its recommendations were based upon two fundamental assumptions—assumptions which, I hope, the Hon'ble Education Minister will note or his politico-educational advisers will point out to him. The first was that the newly constituted Authority should have behind it the support of a great movement of public opinion and the second was that the newly constituted Authority should have at its disposal more ample financial resources than at present. Judged in the light of these two fundamental propositions, does this Bill stand the test of scrutiny? The problem, Sir, is a vast one. It bewilders the imagination of many of us in this hall. The Secondary Education System of Bengal, if it is to be under the unified control, must make arrangements for 1,400 high English schools, must make arrangements for 2,100 middle English schools and must make arrangements for, I am told, 800 madrassahs and 760 *tols*. The number of pupils approximately reading in these institutions is indeed staggering—3,17,000 students read in our high English schools, 1,93,000

read in the middle English schools, 12,000 read in the *tols* and I have not yet heard nor have I been able to ascertain from official records the number of pupils reading in the 800 madrassahs to which the Honourable Education Minister referred. I only heard a statement made by the Hon'ble Education Minister last night that since the report of the Sadler Commission in 1919, the number of madrassahs has increased by 300 per cent. If an impartial Commission of Enquiry were appointed to-day, would it not be faced with the problem that the sudden rise in the number of madrassahs like the sudden rise of the high English schools in the province has offended against the principles of balanced adjustment and cosmic development?

Mr. Speaker, let me now come to the proposed Bill. The Bill visualises the creation of a Secondary Board of Education. That Secondary Board of Education is supposed to be more representative than the unrepresentative Syndicate or the Senate of the University of Calcutta. I shall deal with its composition in a moment. But before I do so, may I refer you, Sir, to the composition of the Executive Council? That Council, as is well known to you and as was admitted by the Hon'ble Chief Minister, is the motor wheel of the whole constitution—it is the pivot round which the whole scheme revolves. Let us try and analyse the constitution of the Executive Council. It will consist of 14 members including the President of the Secondary Board of Education. Who the happy occupant of that chair shall be, I cannot say. I hope, he will be, as I held out the hope on a previous occasion two years ago on the occasion of the appointment of the Private Secretary to the Chief Minister, a member of the Legislature. We shall then burn candles at his altar. But if, God forbid, he is a member of the Indian Educational Service under the Crown, then let the crown of wild olive be woven round his brow!

Then, Sir, the second person is the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. I do not know what the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University himself feels about the Bill. But I have been told on responsible authority that this Bill was not even shown to the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. (Cries of "Shame! shame!" from the Congress Benches.) I do not know, Sir, how the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcuta University feels about the Bill—whether he likes to sit on a throne of Royal State in the buildings round about the College Square and serve under the newly created President of the Board of Secondary Education. But I know this, Sir, that if the proposal was made to Sir James Colvile, the first Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, or to Sir Henry Summer Maine, I know the answer which they would have given.

Then, let us take up the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University. He is an estimable and an amiable gentleman. But if this Executive

Council has to function, it must function in accordance with a time-table and it must function in a particular venue which will obviously be Calcutta, because I notice that residence in Calcutta is specifically mentioned with reference to the great representatives of the University of Dacca on the Executive Council. If you ask the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University to-day, then he will tell you that the Vice-Chancellor, in order to enable him to inefficiently, chaotically and inaccurately to run the administration of 1,400 high English schools has to sit on two Committees in the University of Calcutta on two successive nights every week.

Next I come, Sir, to the Director of Public Instruction. I have been accustomed to have such veneration for him that I cannot but visualise him as an independent liberal in matters of education, especially when the Hon'ble Minister for Education has given absolute freedom to all the subordinate officers under his control. I heard last night that the Hon'ble Home Minister very strongly protested against the publication of reports of District Magistrates whom he described as subordinate officials in his department. I hope that that is not also the attitude of the framer of the Bill with regard to the Director of Public Instruction. What shall I say, Sir, of the two Inspectors of Schools who will not be nominated by the Government, but will be elected by the Board, and what shall I say more, of the Directress of Women's Education and the Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muslim Education.

Last of all, Sir, we have in the words of the Objects and Reasons of the Bill, "adequate representation" of the two Universities of Calcutta and Dacca on the Board of Secondary Education. Mr. Speaker, if you will kindly refer to the representation of the University of Calcutta first, you will see that the University of Calcutta has been given three seats, but that is not the proper implcation of the Bill. The three members will be members of the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta, who have been accustomed to supervise secondary schools in the provinces, but must be elected by seven members of the Board who have managed to come into the Bill from the same university. What an election! These members include the head of the Department of Arabic and Persian in the Calcutta University, the head of the Department of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University, and five representatives of the Senate on the Board of Secondary Education in a most truncated form. The Senate of the University has not freedom of choice even in the matter of election of these other five so-called representatives to the Board. I do not know Sir, why from this great electorate of seven members even the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has been excluded. He can surely have a vote in the election of three members of his University to the Executive Council.

Then, I come to the University of Dacca. I would have been happy, Sir, if the University of Dacca had really two representatives on the Executive Council, but what do I find? I find that these representatives must not necessarily reside in Dacca. They must normally reside in the town of Calcutta as residents as defined under section 3 of the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1923, and that they will be elected not as in the case of Calcutta by the alleged Dacca representatives of the Board but by the Secondary Education Board itself. Why this distinction? We all know why? Mr. Speaker, how can public opinion give its confidence to an Executive Council of this character, an Executive Council which will consist of a majority of Government nominees—in this instance 8 out of a body of 14—and only 5 alleged representatives of public opinion elected by the great electoral college of 7 in one case?

Then I come to the great "justice" which has been done to the Scheduled Caste community. One seat has indeed been guaranteed for them, but in their case the election must be confined to the whole of the Secondary Education Board so that a "proper" type of representative of that community is discovered.

I now come to the composition of the Secondary Education Board itself. The Board will be composed of 50 members and as I have made the calculation the composition is certainly wonderfully composite in character without any discernable principle operating. We shall have on this Board 19 Muslim members. That representation is guaranteed. The second guarantee of 5 members has been given to the Scheduled Castes, but the 5 members of the Scheduled Castes will not be allowed to be represented by the members of the Scheduled Castes themselves. Then, Sir, on the Secondary Education Board we have 8 Europeans, and we have representatives of the Anglo-Indian Board of Education. Apart from the question of separate electorates in favour of which my friend the Hon'ble the Finance Minister has been jabbering just now, the Anglo-Indian Board of Education is not under the control of the proposed Secondary Education Board. These ten members have found seats on the Board on academic grounds. Have they?

Then, Sir, there will be officials or nominees of the Government of Bengal numbering 21. What shall I say about the women of Bengal? They have got election in the matter of representation to the Legislature of the province by the Imperial Act of 1935, but in the case of the Secondary Board of Education three women will be nominated by the Government of Bengal of whom one shall be a Hindu, one a Muslim and the third a European. It is true that election has been conferred upon only the Head Mistresses of High Schools for Girls. There are

about 153 high schools in this province dealing with women's education, and they will have to be satisfied with one representation.

Let us now deal with the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. The two have been put on a basis of parity. On the question of representation two different principles have been adopted. In the case of Dacca two persons will be elected by the Executive Council. In the case of Calcutta five persons will be elected by the Senate of the University, but with what divisions? Two of them must be Muslims, one must be a member of the Scheduled Castes, and of the remaining two one may possibly be a Caste Hindu. Not only that, but of these five persons two must be either Principals or Professors of an affiliated college or Professors or Lecturers in the University of Calcutta. What a concession to the principle of popular opinion and representation: In the case of Dacca only the executive has been created the electorate. The Executive Council, we all know, consists of about 15 members. The Statement of Objects and Reasons has notable features. The Sadler Commission's report has been requisitioned to its service. What does the Sadler Commission's report say on this point? It says that out of a body of 15 to 18 members, at least 7 members shall represent the two Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. They did not propose for the two universities electoral colleges on an ascending hierarchical scale. The pressent proposal reminds one of the elections to the Imperial Duma of the Czarist régimé in Russia. Then, Sir, we have got the Statutory Advisory Committees. I shall not here deal with the Statutory Advisory Committee dealing with Muslim education because my Muslim friends are all enamoured of the Bill and to-day there are so many protectors of Islam—so many non-Muhammadan protectors of Islam that one more addition will not affect the merits of the case at all. Mr. Speaker, let us first of all deal with the Girls' Education Committee. It will consist of 14 members. Of these 1½ will represent to a limited extent public opinion. The Head Mistress of Schools will be one and I say half because of the provision that the second woman representative will be elected by the Senate of the Calcutta University from amongst its women Principals. I was trying to visualise to myself who that 1½ is likely to be. Is it my friends, my lady friends on the opposite side of the House or those in the Government side of the House? I pause for a reply, because I do not venture to deal with the personalities of lady members of the Legislature. Sir, you have got a committee for Scheduled Castes education also. It is a Committee which will consist of 8 members and of these 5 are officials or nominees of the Government. I do not know what my friends of that community feel about their capacity for representation. They have obtained roughly about 30 seats in the Legislative Assembly. Here on the Education Board on the ground that they are backward and on the

ground that the "infant industry" arguments are applicable in their cases, they have been left out with 3 representatives.

Sir, I shall very briefly now refer to the functions of the Secondary Education Board, specially in its relation to the Government of Bengal and in its relation to the two universities. First of all, Sir, I shall deal with the Government of Bengal. The Hon'ble the Education Minister as the Chief Minister of the Government of the province last night maintained that Government cannot abdicate its function with reference to a certain amount of fundamental control over secondary education in this province. Sir, that doctrine may well be accepted, but the connotation of the doctrine requires consideration. It is perfectly true that education is the policy of a nation, but education is not its politics. Mr. Speaker, the fundamental principle does not mean that the Government should have a meticulous interference with the activities of a Board like this, far better would it be to give the entire control of secondary education to the Government of the province, but no Government should live beyond its means and live under a smoke screen. Let the Secondary Education Board not represent that smoke screen. In the present Bill the Government of Bengal has taken to itself the right to sanction the regulations made by the Board, but the regulations of the Board will require not *post facto* sanction but will also require previous and subsequent sanction. The Government of Bengal desires to maintain for itself the right not only to suspend the resolutions of the Board, but it also accepts upon itself the responsibilities of imposing an injunction on the Board. Greater powers than these even King James II of England, Sir, did not demand! Moreover, the budget of this Education Board will be liable in the first instance to a preliminary review by the Government and then the budget will be confirmed by the Board and later on any item in the budget may be subject to revision by the Government of Bengal. Last of all the *post mortem* examination of the budget will require a very stringent audit report and the auditor shall make reports on certain points. A member of the Board guilty of having committed, in the opinion of the auditor, the unpardonable crime of not agreeing with his interpretation of certain rules framed by the Board, that person shall be fined a hundred rupees; that person may be treated as a public servant under section 21 of the Indian Penal Code and that person, or those persons, individually and collectively, shall in addition be liable to a surcharge. Excellent provisions for an independent and autonomous Board of Secondary Education! Not only that; the Inspectorate will not be under the control of the Board. The Government will maintain its own schools; the Government will maintain its own Inspectorate and the Government has retained in its hands not merely the power of supplemental legislation but also the power of supplemental inspection—not by the ordinary inspectorate but by

persons who do not belong to that body. Mr. Speaker, there have been Secondary Education Boards throughout India, and I can boldly say that a constitution of such a reactionary character as this is to be found in not one single province in India and the case of Bengal is very special because of the bitterness between the two major communities and because of the fact that out of the 1,400 schools there are roughly 700 schools which have not at any point of time received any subvention from the coffers of the State. You want to coerce them to the acceptance of the provisions of a Bill of this character. You do not offer them any choice and you do not give them representation. Mr. Speaker, there is another dangerous provision in the Bill, namely, that within 2 years after the establishment of the Secondary Board every single high school now enjoying affiliation, shall stand disaffiliated and every single school will have to go to the Secondary Board of Education for the purpose of obtaining affiliation. The number of permanent recognised high schools in the province is nearly 565.

Sir, these are some of the provisions of the Bill. I do not know how to characterise it. What principles underlie the Bill I have not been able to discover. Certainly the one dominating principle is the vivisection of the nation, and humiliation of existing authorities, namely, the University of Calcutta, especially with reference to its Matriculation Examination and the prescription of its curricula of studies and the examination of candidates who seek admission to the universities. I call it a "Cobra Bill." The cobra has a sombre grandeur about it; the gleam of its eyes strikes your fancy; the shades of its colour might satisfy your artistic taste, but this Bill has only the hiss of the cobra, its venom and its coils. Mr. Speaker, I was in hopes that the Hon'ble Education Minister, the Chief Minister of this province in the new constitution, would leave a great legacy to posterity in his reform of the system of education in this province. I was in hopes that some day generations yet unborn would have gone to his last resting place—nothing in this world is eternal—not even Viceroyalties, Governorships and Ministries—would have gone to his last resting place and would have found an epitaph on his tomb, an epitaph by De Tocqueville with a slight variation which adorns the great Napoleon's tomb at the Garden of Invalids in Paris—"He was a great Muslim, great as he may be *plus* all the virtues of a Muslim." He should not forget, Mr. Speaker, that the Prime Minister of the province is not the Prime Minister of a particular community. He must not forget that whatever his followers might say (The Hon'ble H. S. SUHRAWARDY: He has not forgotten that.) howsoever his opponents might decry him, he must not forget that time will come when he will have to stand before the bar of world's public opinion, and I hope, Sir, that the verdict of history will not be merely "not proven, acquitted."

(Here the honourable member reached his time-limit.)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission, I shall take one more minute.

There is one other matter in connection with this Bill. The financial provisions of the Bill are utterly inadequate. The Hon'ble Education Minister relied upon the generosity of the Hon'ble Finance Minister with regard to the guarantee of the amount of 26 lakhs a year to the Board of Education. He admitted further last night that the sum of Rs. 25 lakhs represented the expenditure incurred even this year. Sir, I was trying to scrutinise the budget, and I find that the non-Government high schools in Bengal in this year's budget have been allotted roughly about Rs. 15 lakhs and the 51 Government high schools including the 4 Board schools to be disaffiliated under the scheme cost this province about Rs. 5 lakhs. That 20 lakhs represent 15 per cent. of the total expenditure on secondary education in this province. The balance of this expenditure comes from precarious fees and income from public benefactions. The Hon'ble the Education Minister in another connection spoke about gratitude. Now, his Government as representing the Government of the day of the province should with gratitude remember that 20 lakhs a year comes from private benefactions and all these benefactors have been sought to be penalized in this Bill. Mr. Speaker, I have finished. I hope that those enthusiastic members who have accepted seats on the Select Committee will be able to effect modifications in the Bill. But the Hon'ble Chief Minister has made it clear that he will allow them only to dot the i's and cross the t's. He will also allow minor adjustments in the shape of representation for Buddhists, Jains, and Sikhs and such other communities as have not yet been discovered even by the Government of India Act. (There were disturbances in the House.) I am glad, Sir, my remarks are going home. I am glad that my speech has been listened to with attention, but the Hon'ble Minister for Co-operation says "very great." I know what great value I attach to his observations. Thank you very much Sir.

(At this stage, the House was adjourned for 20 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would emulate my learned predecessor Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee in not introducing any heat into the debate this evening and would attempt to take as calm and dispassionate a view of the whole situation as the occasion demands.

Sir, it is really unfortunate that even a dignified gentleman like Mr. Banerjee should be swayed away by emotions. Prejudices, Sir, die very hard. Very often preoccupations and predispositions of the

human mind colour the vision of some of the sanest and soberest people in all ages, climes and countries in the world. In the passionate intensity of his soul, in the fullness of his heart, in the exuberance of his feeling, in the great enthusiasm and zeal that he has brought to bear upon the whole situation Mr. Banerjee has shot much beyond the mark. But if he only tried to lift himself up from his own surroundings and probed a little deeper into the subject from a detached point of view, he would himself be irresistibly drawn towards the imperative necessity of a Board of this description at this stage.

Sir, the same causes, the same crying evils, the same forces, the same predisposing conditions that called for reform of secondary education in other provinces, like Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar and Burma operate with greater force in the case of Bengal. The Calcutta University Commission, as the name implies, was certainly meant for Bengal as well. But while other provinces benefited by the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, Bengal alone looked on, pathetically clinging to a dim and hoary past. Recommendations of this Commission, to which no less a personality than the illustrious Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee made positive contributions, were not without any significance for Bengal. Problems of education in its various forms and aspects—problems big with the fate of the province—were seriously investigated, analysed, studied and discussed in the light of the expanding needs and requirements of the province and the special aptitudes and tendencies of the people before the Commission came to any definite findings and conclusions. The Commission definitely observed that the whole system of education both secondary and university should be overhauled and reconstructed on a solid and firm foundation. In their opinion there could be no improvement without a complete reorganisation of the administrative conditions. From the seventies of the nineteenth century to the forties of the twentieth is a far cry. During this long period of nearly a century many momentous changes fraught with immense possibilities have occurred in national and educational spheres both in India and other civilized countries of the world—changes that have extended the domain of human thought and quickened the pulse of humanity considerably. But the conservative outlook of the Calcutta University fought shy of any change, any innovation or reform even after the recommendations of the Sadler Commission.

Sir, the last quarter of a century in India has been marked by a great political ferment, a social unrest and an irresistible urge for better expression and expansion in every sphere of life; but save a few tinkering reforms no profane hands have been allowed to violate the sanctity of the great temple of learning at College Square. Centuries roll by, nations thrive and prosper, communities wake up

from the death-sleep of ages and march with the march of time, but the advancing tide of progress and civilization threatens to drown the souls of the conservative custodians of the University of Calcutta. They are alarmed lest they might be swept off their moorings and drift into the darkest abyss of dangerous revolution and mightiest commotion. The call of the dead is to them irresistible while that of the living leaves no impression on them, nor effects any change in their outlook or angle of vision.

The Hon'ble Chief Minister in his brilliant and comprehensive survey of secondary education in all its aspects has traversed the whole ground and has practically anticipated all our arguments. Mine would be nothing but a rehash of the same arguments, repetition of the same train of reasoning. Nevertheless, I cannot resist the temptation of making a few general observations on the crying need for a Board of Secondary Education. Twenty years ago the Sadler Commission definitely observed: "The whole system of education (university and secondary) is suffering from anæmia which is due partly to lack of funds, partly to the lack of an energetic purpose aiming at improved standards of teaching and educational opportunities. There can be no substantial improvement without reconstruction . . . What is needed is far-reaching reorganisation." It went on further: "We propose therefore that the duty of remodelling the grade of education and raising it to a state of efficiency should be entrusted to a new Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education so constituted as to be representative of the various forms of experience which have a valid claim to be consulted in the matter. This authority should not be merely advisory or consultative but should exercise the executive powers in this sphere of secondary and intermediate education." It is no business of the university to exercise any control over secondary education. The Calcutta University, however, was allowed to exercise control for purely historical reasons. But even then it could not exercise its control efficiently for lack of any inspecting agencies and proper funds at its disposal. As has been very pertinently pointed out by the Hon'ble Chief Minister that constitutionally it was not devised to exercise such control and financially it was unable to do so. For about a century the university assumed control of secondary education, but it could not exercise its functions properly and thereby never justified the assumption of sacred responsibilities on its shoulders. Quite apart from the recommendations of the Sadler Commission which contemplate a thorough overhaul and reorganisation of secondary education in Bengal, the ultimate responsibility of guiding the destinies of a province in all its spheres of life and providing facilities and opportunities of expansion and growth of education in its various stages rests with the Government of the land. The Sadler Commission itself is most emphatic on this point: "To whatever special bodies it may

entrust the administration of the different grades of education, the State cannot abrogate the duty of exercising a general superintendence over education as a whole and securing a balanced and well-proportioned development of all its parts." Even in England, Sir, the English Board of Education consists of a body of permanent officials graded in a hierarchy of ranks and act under the orders of a Minister responsible to Parliament.

Sir, the university failed to manage and control secondary education when the number of schools was much smaller. Meanwhile, the activities of the university have increased in various directions. Post-graduate Departments in Arts and Science have expanded. There are now nearly seventy affiliated colleges and the number of schools under its control has doubled up from 700 to nearly 1,400. Thus, the hands of the university are already full and its commitments large and heavy. In normal circumstances it would be necessary to relieve the university of this heavy burden of responsibilities and transfer the control of secondary education including recognition of schools and conduct of Matriculation Examination to an independent body so that the university might be left free to devote its undivided attention to the organisation and improvement of its teaching. Even in those cases where the university has retained complete control of conduct of examinations and recognition of schools it has been always advisable to transfer these things to committees or bodies specially constituted for the purpose. If in normal circumstances, transfer of control is necessary, in abnormal circumstances it is still more so.

Sir, the university mismanaged secondary education for lack of efficient control. It did not spend a single farthing over secondary schools in Bengal or for the improvement of secondary education, though it obtained a large amount of income from the fees of Matriculation examinees. It pampered the Post-graduate Department at the cost of secondary education in Bengal.

Sir, the recommendations of the Sadler Commission have been carried out as far as possible in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, Madras and Burma, but Bengal is still lagging behind. There is a Board of High Schools in the United Provinces which recognises the institutions for the purposes of examinations and prescribe courses of studies. It has no financial powers and its regulations are subject to the approval of the Minister. The Board consists of 38 members, both elected and nominated, representing various interests. In Burma similarly a Secondary School Board conducts the English and Anglo-Vernacular School and Middle English School Examinations and advises the Director of Public Instruction, who happens to be the Chairman of the Board; on all

matters connected with secondary education. In the Central Provinces, too, high schools are under the control of the High School Education Board, which consist of different interests such as the university, Legislative Council, local bodies, women and minorities. Here also the Director of Public Instruction is the Chairman. The Board has the power of recognising high schools and prescribing courses of studies for high and middle English schools. What has been possible in other parts of India must be possible in Bengal as well. And yet it is resented. The reason is not far to seek. The formation of the proposed Board disturbs the placid contentment of a section of people, because it threatens to prejudice vested interests very badly and affect coterie domination over secondary education in Bengal.

I would now address myself to the few objections that have been raised in the course of the debate.

Firstly, about official control over the Board. Inclusion of a few officers of wide educational experience connected more specially with secondary education does not constitute complete official control of the Board, where non-official element will always predominate. Some amount of official control is certainly implied, because the ultimate responsibility rests with the Government. Even the Sadler Commission definitely lays down that the independent body to which the control of secondary education is entrusted should have a close connection with the Government and must retain the services and experience of some trained officials of the department.

Sir, it has been urged with some amount of gusto that the proposed Board is communal in character, and it will be dominated by communal considerations. The Hon'ble Chief Minister has taken enough pains to ascertain the proportion of Hindus and Muslims not merely in the Board itself, but also in the various Committees under it, conclusively proving that the Muslims will be in a minority everywhere. Reservation of a few seats in the Board for Muslims does not in any way establish their domination or supremacy, but only safeguards their educational interests against the tyranny of an absolute majority. Muslims will be in a minority, but their voice will no longer be hushed into dead silence amidst the clamour of vested interests as in the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta. The Muslims will only have an effective voice in the control, regulation and administration of secondary education in Bengal. The Board, however, must be condemned as communal because a Government supported by a Muslim majority contemplates its formation! Simply because a particular Government is dominated by a Muslim majority, does it necessarily follow that any Bill or measure sponsored by the Government should be condemned as communal, irrespective of the provisions thereof? On

that ground, Sir, what would be our appreciation of those legislative measures which were passed before the inauguration of the new régimé in April, 1937, by previous Governments dominated by a Hindu majority? What about the activities, Sir, of the Calcutta University itself where an absolute majority has reigned supreme since 1857? What about Congress Governments in six provinces where an absolute Hindu majority has bossed the whole show? This is a sweeping indictment, charging the Bengal Government with lack of administrative talent, vision or imagination, though many a beneficial measure of a far-reaching character stands to its credit. Opposition for the sake of opposition, attack for the sake of attack, protest for the sake of protest has ever been the policy pursued by the Opposition. That is their mentality, that is their psychology and that is their real attitude.

Sir, it has been suggested that the proposed Board is not representative of public opinion as contemplated by the Sadler Commission. Sir, I maintain with all the emphasis at my command, with all the seriousness at my disposal, that the Board is more representative than the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta securing as it does adequate representation of Muslims, Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Europeans and various other interests including the Universities of Dacca and Calcutta. Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee has referred to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission which contemplates the formation of a body to consist of 15 to 18 members. That, Sir, corresponds to the Executive Council of the University of Calcutta which is decidedly less representative in character than the proposed Board.

Sir, it has been further suggested that it disregards public opinion in the province. Sir, if public opinion is not to be confounded with the opinion of that school of thought which condemns, denounces and must tear, if possible, to pieces any legislation initiated by this Government, certainly then the contention is true. But the Board does not disregard the opinion of the largest majority including Muslims, Scheduled Castes and a considerable section of liberal and independent Hindus as well.

Sir, it has been emphasised by Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee that the Bill is inopportune and should not have been introduced at this juncture when the Empire is passing through a crisis. Sir, those who have deliberately refused co-operation with the British Empire in the greatest hour of its need, talk glibly of the agonies of war, the complexities of the international situation and the acute crisis through which the Empire is passing. To me it sounds as a cruel mockery, like a tale in the Arabian Nights. But even admitting for arguments' sake that the Bill is inopportune, inexpedient, impolitic, silly and unwise and should never have been introduced during these anxious times;

what about the Bills and measures that were introduced in more peaceful times in this very House? They, too, had no smooth passage; the same chorus of protest from the Opposition greeted them.

It has been emphasised, Sir, that the Bill antagonises the great Hindu community, who made significant contributions to the cultural and educational advancement of the country and proposes to make short work of the university itself. Sir, we do not deny the positive contributions of the great Hindu community in the field of education and culture. I am personally proud of the illustrious sons of Bengal like Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Keshab Chandra Sen and Raja Ram Mohon Roy who played the most decisive rôle in shaping the educational destinies of the province and laying the structure on a solid foundation. But, Sir, while our Hindu brethren have thrived and prospered and looked on to an everwidening horizon of thought and action, Muslims have languished and pined away in misery. Neither the university nor the Government of the day encouraged and fostered the growth and revival of the glorious heritage of Islam that constitutes a distinct landmark in the history of world civilization and culture. Nor did they allow plastic impressionable young Muslims throbbing with genuine emotions, pulsating with new hopes and aspirations and burning with an irresistible thirst for the renaissance of their glorious past, any chance whatsoever for their real expression, any scope to rise to the full stature of their manhood; cut off from real moorings of life, Muslim boys have been compelled to feed on ideals and ideas hostile to the spirit and genius of Islam and to drift into the morass of complexes that never constitute the part and parcel of their cultural existence. It is not for nothing, Sir, that while Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar and the Punjab produced illustrious Muslims like Moulana Muhammad Ali, Mr. Jinnah, Sir Syed Ahmed, Justice Mahmood, Sir Salar Jung, Sir Muhammad Iqbal and others—Muslims who could challenge comparison with the greatest of thinkers, philosophers, statesmen and publicists all over the world—Bengal has to be content with a few names only like Sir Salimullah, Justice Ameer Ali, Sir Abdur Rahim and the last of the great giants, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. Sir, we also want that Muslims should have their cultural expansion and educational advancement. Control of secondary education, Sir, is, therefore, absolutely necessary not for or by one community alone, but for all classes and conditions of people that inhabit this land. The Government never proposes to encroach upon the cultural and educational heritage of the Hindu community, but intends providing adequate facilities to all sections of people for their real progress and advancement. Sir, it has been urged that the Bill embitters the relations between the two great communities in Bengal and complicates the already complicated situation. I would emphatically repudiate this charge. The Bill, on

the other hand, tries to enlist the sympathy, the experience and the wisdom of all classes and communities in the province.

Sir, it has been further argued that the Bill is not conceived in the best interests of education. I think this is the unsoundest of all charges levelled against the Bill. A Bill that proposes to secure the services of educational experts including the Director of Public Instruction, Assistant Director for Muhammadan Education, Professors, Head Masters and Head Mistresses and also university representatives, cannot be said to have been conceived except in the interest of educational advancement. Furthermore, the Bill proposes to secure adequate representation of both the Houses of Legislature on whom ultimately rests the formulation of policies and measures for educational advancement of the country.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee has thrown us a challenge. Sir, I do not accept the challenge. It is a challenge from a brother to a brother, from a friend to a friend, from a colleague to a colleague, from a child of the soil to another, from a Bengali to a Bengali equally distracted and disturbed by the same sorrows and misfortunes, plagued and tortured by the same difficulties and the same miseries and sufferings, the same reverses of fortune. Sir, it is not in that spirit of challenge or counter-challenge that we propose to solve the problems of life. It is not in a spirit of cavil or canker, not in a spirit of jealousy or hatred, not in a spirit of enmity or animosity, but in a spirit of friendship, brotherhood and amity, in the spirit of sweet reasonableness, that we propose to compose our differences, adjust the conflicting interests and reconcile the divergent claims of the various communities in Bengal.

May I appeal to my friends in the Opposition to rise to the height and shed their complexes? The future is ours, we intend building a brighter and more glorious future in which all classes and communities would be adequately represented, all contributing towards the growth and evolution of the common motherland. We have to reach the promised land, the desert has yet to be crossed. Long long nights of travail and sufferings await us all. We can assure the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq of our unstinted support and allegiance and devotion in his onward march towards the goal. Midnight gloom and darkness encircles the horizon, clouds gather overhead, threatening to burst upon our shoulders any moment. We appeal to Mr. Fazlul Huq to carry us both Hindus and Muslims across the sandy deserts of disappointment and despair to the promised land of hope.

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: সভাপতি মহাশয়, এই বিল সম্বন্ধে যে সার্কুলেশন মোসন,—রায় হরেন্দ্রনাথ চৌধুরী মহাশয় এখানে এনেছেন আমি সেটা oppose করেছি। এই বিলের যা principle সেটা সম্বন্ধে আমি Scheduled Castesদের দিক

থেকে বোল্‌তে পারি যে তাতে তাঁহাদের বিশেষ কোন আপত্তির কারণ নাই। তবে বিলে যে সমস্ত details আছে সে সমস্তের সঙ্গে আমরা একমত নই, এবং ইহার অনেক পরিবর্ত্তন আমরা প্রয়োজনীয় মনে করি। কিন্তু সে সবগুলির পরিবর্ত্তন Select Committeeতেই হোতে পারে, তার জন্য Billটা public opinionএর জন্য circulationএ পাঠান আমরা সঙ্গত মনে করি না, কেননা circulationএ পাঠানোর মানেই হচ্চে বিলের principleটাই support না করা। এবং অযথা বিলম্ব ঘটাইয়া ইহাকে নষ্ট করিবার চেষ্টা করা। আমাদের মতে বিল্‌টা এমন কিছু খারাপ নয় যে এটাকে নানা রকম ছলছুতা অবলম্বন পূর্ব্বক নষ্ট কোরে দিতে হবে।

এই বিলে Scheduled Castesদের শিক্ষার অনেক উন্নতি বিধানের ব্যবস্থা আছে। অবশ্য একথার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আমরা বোল্‌তে চাই যে বোর্ডে যে সমস্ত সদস্য সংখ্যা Scheduled Castes থেকে নেবার ব্যবস্থা করা হোয়েছে আমরা তার থেকে অনেক বেশী সংখ্যা পাওয়া উচিত মনে করি এবং তাহা পেতে আশা রাখি। আমার মনে হয়—গভর্ণমেণ্ট সে বিষয় বিবেচনা কোরবেন। আমি এই এসেম্ব্লীর কতিপয় Scheduled Castes বন্ধুদের সঙ্গে কথা বোলেছি,—এবং জান্‌তে পেরেছি—যাঁরা নাকি oppositionএ বসেন তাঁরাও প্রায় সকলেই এই বিলের principleটা support করেন (Mr. KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: "We do not support the principle of the Bill.") আমি যা বোল্‌ছি তার প্রমাণ হোচ্চে এই যে opposition থেকে যাঁকে Scheduled Castes দলের মেম্বর হিসাবে Select Committeeতে নেওয়া হোয়েছে, তিনি কংগ্রেস পন্থা-অনুসরণ কোরে select কমিটিতে যেতে অস্বীকার করেন নাই, বরং Select Committeeতে থেকে ইহার improvement কোরতে চেয়েছেন। Billটা Select Committeeতে না দিয়ে circulationএর জন্য দিলে এটা আর পাশ হবার সম্ভাবনা নাই। এ বিষয়ে আমার বিশেষ বক্তব্য এই যে Scheduled Castesদের পক্ষে circulationএ দেওয়ার মানে হয় না, কারণ Scheduled Castesদের ভিতর public opinion জিনিষটা এখনও সুগঠিত হয় নাই। Public opinion যাদের আছে, তাদের সেই সমস্ত opinion আমাদের স্বার্থের পক্ষে নয়। তাদের সে সকল interested public opinion আমরা যাহা চাইছি তার বিরুদ্ধে। কাজেই সেই public opinion সংগ্রহের জন্য বিল্‌টা circulationএ দেওয়া Scheduled Casteএর পক্ষে কোন মতেই উচিত নয়। ইহা আমাদের নিজের পায়ে নিজে কুঠারাঘাত করা। অতএব Select Committeeতে দেওয়ার যে প্রস্তাব সেটাকেই আমরা support কোর্‌ছি।

আর, কংগ্রেস ও Nationalist partyর তরপ থেকে যে সমস্ত সদস্য Select Committeeতে নেওয়ার প্রস্তাব প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় কোরেছিলেন, তাঁরা Select Committeeতে যেতে অস্বীকার করায় হিন্দু publicএর বিশেষ ক্ষতির কারণ হোয়েছে। কারণ, তাঁদের যে সমস্ত ব্যক্তিকে Select Committeeতে নেওয়ার কথা হোয়েছিলো—তাঁরা সকলেই জ্ঞানী, তেজীয়ান ও উপযুক্ত ব্যক্তি। বিলে যেখানে যেখানে আপত্তিজনক বিষয় আছে Select Committeeর অন্যান্য সদস্যদের

সঙ্গে আলোচনা কোরে তাঁরা সেই সমস্ত আপত্তিকর বিষয় অকেটা দূর কোরতে পারতেন, তারা অপর সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যগণকে বুঝিয়ে দিতে পারতেন কোথায় গভর্ণমেণ্ট ভুল বা অন্যায় করতে যাচ্ছে। কিন্তু তাঁরা সেটা না করায় যে সম্প্রদায়ের লোকদের তাঁরা represent কোর্‌ছেন, তাদের পক্ষে ক্ষতির কারণ হোচ্ছে।

আমার একটা বলবার কথা হোচেচ এই যে—হাউসে majority এবং minority বরাবরই থাক্‌বে। Majority party যা উপযুক্ত মনে করেন সেই ভাবেই আইন প্রণয়ন হোয়ে থাকে। Minority তাতে আপত্তি কোরতে পারেন, কিন্তু অভিমান কোরে non-co-operation কোর্‌লে majorityর কোনই ক্ষতি কোর্‌তে পারবেন না। আর যদি অভিমান কোরে non-co-operationই কোরতে হয়,—তাহলে আমি আমার Oppositionএর বন্ধুদের এই কথাই বোল্‌তে চাই—তাহলে শুধু Select Committeeতে থাক্‌তে অস্বীকার কোরে লাভ কি? যদি Select Committeeতে না থাকা সিদ্ধান্ত প্রতিবাদ স্বরূপে করা হয়, তাহলে এর logical conclusion মেনে নিয়ে তাঁহারা কেন একেবারে House এবং সদস্য পদ resign দিয়ে বেরিয়ে চোলে যান না? তাহলে তাদের logic অনুসারে তাঁদের protestটা আরও effective হবে (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR:—আপনি Congress টিকেট্‌এ returned হোয়েছেন, আগে আপনি resign দিন) আমার ত আপনাদের মত মতিভ্রম হয় নি। (Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: "You are a traitor, re-ign at once. You are also traitor to your constituency.) (At this stage, the House became almost uproarious.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think this is a very good sign for us not to allow anybody to speak. I hope this is not the only misfortune in human life. There are many. Why not tolerate this?

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: আব্‌দার কর্‌তে গিয়ে না পেরে অভিমান আস্‌ছে। অভিমানের কি এই স্থান, না কাল, না আপনাদের সে বয়স আছে। আজ এই হাউসের ভিতর majority দ্বারা যে আইন রচিত হোচেচ তার বিরুদ্ধে opposition partyর লোকেরা যাই বলুন না কেন তাতে আমাদের কোন লক্ষ্যভ্রষ্ট হবে না। Majorityর মতামতকে যে মান্‌তে হবে এটা অপর পক্ষ যে বোঝেন না তা নয়। কারণ তাঁরা জানেন যে majorityর opinion কি কোরে অগ্রাহ্য কোরতে হয়। যে সমস্ত প্রতিষ্ঠান তাঁদের হাতে ছিলো বা আছে সেখানে majorityর মতামতকে অগ্রাহ্য কোরে তাঁরা নিজেদের মতকেই চালিয়ে থাকেন। কাজেই বর্ত্তমান ক্ষেত্রে majorityর মতকে তাঁদেরও মানা উচিত। অভিমান করা উচিত নয়।

আমি তাঁদের কাছে appeal কোরছি,—তাঁদের অসহযোগের মত পরিবর্ত্তন কোরে, তাঁদের সেই decision পরিবর্ত্তন কোরে—Select Committeeতে তাঁরা প্রবেশ করুণ। এবং প্রবেশ কোরে—বিল্‌টাকে ভাল রকম সংশোধন কোরে বের করুন। আর Scheduled Castes বন্ধুদের কাছে এই নিবেদন, তাঁরা সকলে মিলে যেন বিলের principleটা অনুমোদন করেন। যদিও অনেক Scheduled Castes

মেম্বরের সে অনুমোদন আছে তা আমি জানি, এবং আমার মনে হয়,—এমন সদস্য কেউ এখানে নাই যিনি independently standing for the Scheduled Castes এই বিলের principleএর বিরোধিতা কোরতে পারেন। এই বিলের দ্বারা এই প্রথম Scheduled Castes রা শিক্ষা বিভাগের ব্যাপারে statutory recognition পাচ্ছে। এ অবস্থায় যাতে নিজেদের শিক্ষার উন্নতি করা যায়—তার জন্য কমিটির মেম্বর হোয়ে উহার ভিতরে গিয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্টের সঙ্গে এবং অন্য সম্প্রদায়ের সভ্যদের সঙ্গে আলোচনা ও urgue কোরে আমাদের উদ্দেশ্য সাধন কোরতে হবে। কিন্তু আজ কংগ্রেসের সদস্যরা বা Nationalist Partyর সদস্যরা যে attitude নিচ্ছেন আশা করি কোন Scheduled Castes বন্ধুই সে attitude নেবেন না। এই কথা বোলে আমি রায় হরেন্দ্রনাথ চৌধুরীর circulationএর প্রস্তাব oppose কোরছি আর মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের Select Committeeতে বিলটীকে দেওয়ার প্রস্তাব সমর্থন কোরছি।

Babu SHYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: I beg to move——

Mr. SPEAKER: It is unnecessary. I think one amendment is quite sufficient.

Babu SHYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: But there is a difference in the date.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that matters.

Babu SHYAMA PROSAD BARMAN: One of the greatest achievements of democracy is that it has put the key of knowledge in the hands of all—that it has placed education within the easy reach of the people—rich and poor alike. But our popular Ministry have laid and are now again laying heavy hands on education of the province. They have already officialised primary education by the Primary Education Act as a result of which the number of primary schools has been reduced to a great extent. The Ministry is now out for regulating and controlling secondary education of the province by this proposed Bill.

The proposed Secondary Education Bill is not an educational measure meant for the improvement and expansion of education, but a political measure the avowed object of which is to cripple and crush the cultured and educated section of the province. The main object of the Bill is to constitute a Board for the regulation and control of secondary education of the province, but nowhere in the Bill or in the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Bill as outlined by the Hon'ble Chief Minister is there anything which aims at the improvement and expansion of education. To my mind the real object of the Bill is to make all the secondary schools the training ground in ideas and theories which the communally-minded Ministry wants the youths of the country to hold. The real object of the Bill is the Nazification of the education

of the province, to train the youths of the province in ideologies acceptable to the Ministry based on a communal division of the nation. The Bill is primarily a controlling measure. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister says in his Statement of Objects and Reasons—"Secondary education in Bengal is at present uncontrolled." There is an Education Department of Government with a hierarchy of inspecting staff. Yet he says secondary education is uncontrolled. It is so, because some of the secondary schools are producing youths, who have a broader national outlook instead of a narrow and communal view—youths who have the love of freedom and the love of one's motherland in the heart of their hearts instead of selfishness. Sir, in order to cut down the number of schools which aim at making such patriotic youths the Government are placing this pernicious Bill on the statute book. In Bengal there are 1,400 high schools for boys and girls of which only 50 are Government schools, 628 are Government-aided schools and the rest are private schools. Government contribution towards the total expenditure for secondary education is only 18 per cent. Now, Sir, only 25 lakhs of rupees is proposed to be spent on secondary schools and the Government are going to assume full official control for this financial support. The proposed Secondary Education Board will be the sole authority to grant or refuse approval, and to withdraw approval, to distribute grants-in-aid to the secondary schools, recognise secondary schools, for the purpose of presenting candidates for examination. Now, Sir, the Board will thus have the authority to dangle before the eyes of our famished school authorities the sum of 25 lakhs of rupees with which to buy up their integrity and extinguish the torch of learning for its own sake.

As regards the constitution of the Board, I beg to submit that the proposed Board is going to have a heavy officialised and communal body. The Board will consist of 50 members of whom 20 will be Muslims and 20 Hindus and 5 Europeans or Anglo-Indians and 5 unspecified. Of the 50 members 19 will be directly appointed by Government, and since the Ministry is expected to have a fair majority in the Provincial Legislature, the majority if not all of the 9 members of the Board to be elected by the Legislature will be virtually the nominees of the Ministry. The Ministry will thus have an assured majority in the Board. The Executive Council of the Board will consist of 14 members of whom as many as 6 will be *ex-officio* members from amongst Government officials and the rest will be elected by the Board which will leave a practical majority for the Ministry. Thus the Executive Council will be a miniature form of the Education Department of the Government of Bengal. The Secondary Education Board and its Executive Council thus constituted mainly by the nominees of the Government will not have any real power to share and guide the educational policy of the province, inasmuch as on an analysis

of the clauses of the Bill it is found that the Government have reserved to itself in every clause of the Bill the right to veto any action of the Board or the Executive Council. In short, if the Bill be passed into law, it will place the entire educational system of the province at the disposal of the Ministry.

As regards the Scheduled Caste Secondary Education Committee, it will consist of 8 members of whom 5 will be appointed by the Ministry and only 3 members will be elected not by the Scheduled Caste members but by the Board itself. It thus becomes an official committee where the voice of the minority is hardly likely to be listened to. Moreover, this committee has been made an advisory committee. We cannot find any provision in the Bill where it is provided that the Secondary Education Board or its Executive Council is bound to accept the recommendations of the Scheduled Caste Secondary Education Committee. It may be argued that the Scheduled Caste Education Committee has been placed on an equal footing with the Muslim Secondary Education Committee. But it should be remembered that our Muslim friends will have their representatives in an overwhelming majority in the Board and in the Executive Council. Consequently, the recommendations of the Muslim Secondary Education Committee will be automatically accepted by the Board and the Executive Council, whereas the recommendations of the Scheduled Caste Secondary Education Committee will not have such support in the Board or the Executive Council as they are in a negligible minority in the Board and in the Executive Council.

The Secondary Education Bill was first published in the "Calcutta Gazette" on the 1st August and copies of it were available to the members only two weeks ago. It is a very important measure affecting the vital educational interests of the whole province. In view of the strong protest from the press and the platform regarding the pernicious provisions of the Bill and also in view of the fact that all the secondary schools of the province will be vitally affected by the provisions of the Bill inasmuch as they will all be put under the sole control of this Board, it is earnestly desired that the Bill should be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon, especially the opinion of the managing committees of the secondary schools.

With these words, Sir, I support the motion for circulation of the Bill moved by Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.

Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Bengal Secondary Education Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Chief Minister yesterday evening is being denounced by the Hindu Press and the

Caste Hindus of Bengal forming 6 per cent. of the population of this province as a measure communal and reactionary in outlook.

Sir, I am not oblivious of the fact that there is a likelihood of the vested interests of the Caste Hindus of Bengal being shaken to some extent by this measure, but that does not mean that 6 per cent. of the population of this province is to be allowed to rule over the rest so far as secondary education is concerned. I hold, Sir, and every impartial observer of the Bill will surely hold, that the Bill if passed into an Act will be doing good service to the entire province as a whole. Before entering into the question whether the Bill is a communal or reactionary one and before entering into the question of the merits and demerits of the Bill, I appeal to the House and particularly to the opposition to approach the consideration of the Bill very dispassionately and with a broad and liberal outlook. Before entering into a consideration of the Bill here, I would like to refer to the complaint made by my friend Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee. He has appealed to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to the effect that he should remember that he is Chief Minister not only of the Muslims but Chief Minister of all the communities in Bengal. Sir, I can assure my friend that the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq by his doings up till now has given ample proof that he is the Chief Minister of all the communities. He has not brought in any measure, he has not passed any legislation which aims at doing any mischief to any community. My friend should not be oblivious of the fact. My friend should not be oblivious of the fact that in the Congress provinces, the Congress Ministries tried to do immense harm to the Muslim community. No such scheme as the Vidhya Mandir Scheme which was initiated by the Congress Ministries to denationalize the Muslims and to destroy the Muslim culture has been brought forward by the Hon'ble Chief Minister. No such scheme as was brought forward by the Congress Ministries to make Hindi a compulsory subject to be learnt by Muslims has been brought by the Chief Minister. No attempt has been made by the Hon'ble Chief Minister to denationalise the Hindus and do away with the culture of Hindus as has been done by the Congress Ministers to denationalise the Muslims and destroy their culture. Now in the first place the House should take into consideration why the Government of Bengal are asking the Legislature to pass a piece of legislation for the constitution of a Board for taking over the charge of secondary education from the hands of the university. The Sadler Commission consisting of some veteran educationists of Great Britain and India were dissatisfied with the way in which secondary education was being imparted. The Commission unanimously recommended the constitution of the Board to take over the charge of secondary and intermediate education from the hands of the university. This the Commission did with the avowed

object to run secondary education in a manner so that it may be efficient and wholesome. Nobody has yet questioned the propriety of the recommendation, but the Government since the time of the recommendation have taken no step to give effect to it till the introduction of this Bill. But, Sir, the introduction, I have already observed, has evoked protest and denunciation from interested quarters.

Let us, Sir, examine the Bill itself. Even the worst enemy of the Bill does not and cannot deny the necessity of the reorganisation of secondary education in Bengal and nobody can say that secondary and intermediate education of Bengal is being run in a proper channel. Then what is the objection which the adversaries of this Bill can have against it? They say that the Bill is communal in its outlook and calculated to destroy Hindu culture. They also aver that there is preponderating public opinion against the Bill.

As regards the last point, *i.e.*, the assertion of the enemies of the Bill that the preponderating public opinion is against it, I most respectfully submit, Sir, that we are to define and see what public opinion is. If we mean public opinion to be the opinion of the majority of the people—and I submit Sir, that is the clear meaning——then public opinion undoubtedly goes in favour of and not against the Bill, but those protests come only from the Caste Hindus of Bengal. Of course, Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee who is the most vocal and thunderous amongst the adversaries of the Bill has got his ally in the person of the honourable member representing the Indian Christians of Calcutta *cum* the Presidency Division. But barring the solitary exceptions, I mean Dr. H. C. Mukherjee and a very few members of the Scheduled Castes belonging to the Congress Group, the Caste Hindus have got no allies in their protest against the Bill. On the other hand, the Muslims of Bengal representing more than 56 per cent. of the population of this province and the Scheduled Caste people and other minorities are welcoming the Bill and lending their whole-hearted support. So we may safely hold that over 80 per cent. of the population are supporting very strongly the measure whereas less than 20 per cent. are against the Bill. Now I put this question to the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University who now represents the same universities here, whether the view he propounded the other day that public opinion was against the Bill is correct or not. I may ask him point blank whether the view held by more than 80 per cent. of the people really reflects public opinion of the province or the view of less than 20 per cent. be swallowed as public opinion.

Mr. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEE: Mr. Biswas is slightly inaccurate. He should say not 80 per cent. but 94 per cent.

Mr. ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: I know, Sir, that when a litigant unjustly enjoying the property of another is challenged in law court, he tries to twist the logic to attempt to prove the justness of his claim though the attempt is nothing but self-deception.

Here Dr. Mookerjee and his friends of the same category representing the 6 per cent. of the population of the province finding that their rule, so far as the Secondary Education Bill is concerned, over 90 per cent. of the population is going to be shaken and replaced by the rule of people of the province for the interest of the province at large, they have raised a cry of alarm. Let them do that. But I may assure them that more than 80 per cent. of the people will not halt and will fight for the just cause.

As regards another point raised by the adversaries of the Bill, that the Bill is a communal one, I like to remind them that they cannot deceive people by calling day a night and night a day. We have seen that in a Board of 50 the Muslims, forming over 56 per cent. of the population of the province, are getting 19 seats, whereas the Hindus, though their number in the province falls far below that of the Muslims, are getting 20 seats. Can any one, by any stretch of imagination, argue that the present Government in allocating the seats of the Board to Hindus and the Muslims are exhibiting communalism in favour of the Muslims? Those whose vision has been blurred and conscience perverted may say like that. But every impartial observer must admit that the Government has not gone so far as it should go in favour of the Mussalmans. No doubt, the Hindu students of the secondary institutions outnumber the Muslims, but that does not mean that the Mussalmans will sit idle and tight and will not run with the time to cope with the Hindus in the matter of education. The progress which the Mussalmans have done in recent years in the field of education and the introduction of the free primary education in the province justify the presumption that within a short period they will come equally to the forefront as the Hindus have done. In that case Muslims can legitimately claim a larger number of representatives than the Hindus. Considering that point of view, the Mussalmans can say that full justice has not been done to them in this case. How can a Bill giving the less number of the seats to the Muslims, the majority community, and greater number of seats to the Hindus, the minority community, be described as a communal piece of legislation? So the objection of the Opposition may be brushed aside by reminding them that even the greatest wrongdoer cites scriptures to give a show of justness of the cause. Third objection raised against the Bill is the protest by the Caste Hindus, particularly by Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, that the Bill aims at the destruction of Hindu culture. Sir, I fail to understand how 19 Muslim members of a Board of 50 can destroy Hindu

culture. Sir, if the Calcutta University, where the Hindu influence preponderates, from the beginning could not destroy Muslim culture, how can these gentlemen argue that 19 members among the 50 will be able to destroy Hindu culture. This reasoning of those gentlemen indicates that it was their determination to destroy Muslim culture in course of their reign in the Calcutta University and they try to ascribe the same mentality to the Mussalmans. Sir, I have also a grievance against the Bill, and it is this, that no provision has been made in this Bill to take the control of Matriculation Examination from the hands of the university. For the purpose of better control it should have been done. Sir, the other day I read with pain a leader in a newspaper called "Taruner Danda" in which gross carelessness on the part of the university in two cases has been shown so far as the Matriculation Examination is concerned. Sir, I like to cite those instances with a view to show that in order to avoid that sort of carelessness, provision should have been made to take over the control and management of the Matriculation Examination from the hands of the university. One of the instances is that the name of one Shamsuddin Ahmed, who appeared in the Matriculation in the year 1935 from the Bandura Missionary High English School in the district of Dacca, was published in the "Calcutta Gazette" in the list of successful candidates who passed the examination in the first division. But the boy who expected to do very well was disappointed to see that he could secure no letter or star. Sir, not sitting idle, he took the mark sheet from the university and to his surprise and rejoice he found that he secured 548 marks in total and in five subjects he secured more than 80 per cent. marks. Does this not betray the colossal carelessness and regrettable inefficiency to have control over the Matriculation Examination and does it not satisfy the transference of control of the Matriculation Examination to the hands of the Board to be created? Sir, another instance of such carelessness is that one Abul Kasem Muhamed Halif Choudhury who appeared at the last Matriculation Examination from Noakhali Arun Chandra High English School was shown in the "Calcutta Gazette" to have passed the Matriculation Examination in the first division with two letters and he has taken admission in some college. But the mark sheet which he has taken from the university shows that he could not pass in any of the English papers and that the total marks did not justify his passing even in the third division. These are the circumstances which Government should have taken into consideration and made provision for the transference of control of the Matriculation Examination from the university.

Now, Sir, a few words about the threats given by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee in the speech he delivered in opening the Annual Conference of all Calcutta Teachers' Association at the hall of the Chetla Boys' High School. Without exhibiting the spirit of communalism, as has

been done by my friend, the Muslims of Bengal and their representatives of this province may assure Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee that considering this as just and righteous cause and it is necessary for their self-existence, they will bravely accept the challenge and they will not hesitate to support the measure which they think and every impartial observer will think to be a measure calculated to do good to the province as a whole by better controlling secondary education in Bengal. Adversaries of the Bill may rest assured that no amount of threat coming from an interested party will deter the Coalition Party from supporting the Government in the right and honest cause.

Before I sit down, Sir, I would like to refer to one thing said by my friend Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee and other speakers. Mr. Banerjee has said that the Bill aims at bringing secondary education under official control. We know and everybody knows the tension of feelings between the two communities in Bengal at present, and if Government do not take up the situation in hand and adjust the rights of both the communities, I think there is every likelihood that the matter will go from bad to worse. Considering all these facts, Sir, I think that the motion of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister should be supported.

With these few words, Sir, I support the motion of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and oppose the amendment moved by the Opposition.

Mr. SPEAKER: It seems to me that nobody is anxious to speak now. So, I shall adjourn the House.

Adjournment.

It being 8 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Friday, the 23rd August, 1940, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 23rd August, 1940, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 209 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answers were given)

Appointment of Teachership Examination passed under-matric teachers under District School Boards.

***202. Dr. SANAULLAH:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware that there are experienced under-matric teachers who have duly passed the Teachership Examination held by the District School Boards?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action he proposes to take for their appointment in the schools under the District School Board?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): The attention of the member is invited to Notification No. 1493Edn., dated the 25th July, 1940, appearing in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 1st August, 1940, and publishing rules to provide for the conditions of appointment of teachers in primary schools maintained by District School Boards.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any minimum rate of salary fixed for such teachers?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: A scale has been fixed, but it all depends on District School Boards as to what scale of salary to adopt.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I do not want the grade. I want to know whether there is any minimum pay below which a teacher is not to be paid.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: There is no such minimum fixed but it is open to District School Boards to fix a minimum salary—there is nothing to prevent it.

Adoption of principle of script number on Matric examination papers.

***203. Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state whether the principle of writing no name except subject, paper, roll number, etc., on the examination papers for the Intermediate and Bachelor degree in Arts and Science by the examinees has been adopted by the Calcutta University?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that that policy has not been adopted in the case of Matriculation Examination?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, does the Hon'ble Minister contemplate necessary arrangement for adoption of the same principle by the Calcutta University in the Matriculation Examination papers also?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) and (*b*) Yes.

(*c*) I have been informed by the Calcutta University that it is not practicable.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*c*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware what is the practice in other Universities—whether they have adopted the practice of not allowing the Matriculation candidates to write their names on their answer papers?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That may be so, but conditions vary from Province to Province. I do not wish to say anything further on this subject.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there is a feeling of discontent amongst the members of the Muslim community and particularly amongst the Muslim students in general over the question of names being given on answer papers?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I know there is a certain amount of feeling amongst a section of the students who desire that there should be no names but only numbers.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*c*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the answers were received during the regime of the present Vice-Chancellor?

Mr. SPEAKER: These answers could not have been received five years back!

Rules regulating transfer of District Nazirs.

***204. Maulvi ABDUL HAMID SHAH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state whether the High Court Rules regulating the transfer of the District Sheristadars apply also to the District Nazirs?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of District Judges' Nazirs at present existing in Bengal; and

(*ii*) the number of them that are posted in the same station for more than 5 years?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) (*i*) Twenty-two.

(*ii*) Four.

Rate of contributions to institutions of public benefit.

***205. Maulvi MD. ABDUS SHAHEED:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state whether at present one-third of the total cost of a scheme is granted as contributions to institutions of public benefit, namely, dispensaries, schools, etc.?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government are considering the desirability of increasing the rate to one-half of the total cost of such schemes?

MINISTER in charge of the FINANCE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (*a*) No. The rules or practices governing various grants-in-aid vary. The proportion of the total outlay that Government may be prepared to contribute in the shape of a grant-in-aid has been fixed with due regard to the nature and circumstances of the various classes of schemes.

(*b*) Does not arise.

MR. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in some cases, the whole of the amount necessary is borne by the Government?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes, it is.

Disturbances to mosque caused by a cinema house at Naogaon.

***189. Maulvi M. MOSLEM ALI MOLLAH:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware that there is a cinema house at Naogaon in the Rajshahi district?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) how many shows a day are usually held in the cinema house;

(*ii*) at what hours the shows usually commence and end; and

(*iii*) the time when the shows began and ended on the day of the last visit of the Hon'ble Minister, Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness, to the place?

(*c*) Is it a fact that the commencement of the shows in the cinema house is preceded by a peculiar sound of high pitch with some instruments for more than half an hour?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there is a mosque close to the cinema house and disturbances are caused by the shows and the sound to *Magrib* and *Isha* prayers?

(*e*) If the answer to (*d*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Miniser be pleased to state what action he proposes to take in the matter?

(*f*) If it is a fact—

(*i*) that Mr. J. C. Chatterjee, the previous Subdivisional Officer of Naogaon, ordered the cinema authority to commence the first show just after the *Magrib* prayer is over; and

(*ii*) that the order was carried out till his departure from Naogaon?

(*g*) If the answer to (*f*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why the order has since been rescinded?

(*h*) Is it a fact that the first show of the Purnima Talkie at Rajshahi town has stopped because of a mosque standing near it?

(*i*) If the answer to (*h*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government contemplate taking similar action in the case of Naogaon cinema?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) (*i*) Two.

(*ii*) From 7-15 to 9-30 p.m. and 9-45 p.m. to 12 midnight (approximate time).

(*iii*) As above.

(*c*) Gramophone records are transmitted by loud speaker about 15 minutes before the show.

(*d*) No, as the mosque is at a distance of one furlong and the shows start after prayer times.

(*e*) Does not arise.

(*f*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) It is still being observed.

(*g*) It has not been rescinded.

(*h*) Yes.

(*i*) No such action is considered necessary.

Diet allowance of political prisoners at Chittagong.

***200. Mrs. NELLIE SEN GUPTA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) how much per diem is given to the political prisoners at Chittagong as diet allowance; and

(*b*) what is the regulation amount per diem?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) There is no category known as political prisoners in the jails in Bengal.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Mr. PRATUL CHANDRA GANGULY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if his answer means that there is no political prisoner in Bengal Jails?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: There is no category known as "political prisoners".

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that in the history-sheet of the convicts commonly known as political convicts, it is clearly written in red ink "political prisoner"?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I am not aware of it.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there are prisoners who have been convicted for political offences?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not think that there is any such thing as political offence.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether those convicted under section 124A are designated as political prisoners?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I am not aware of it.

Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister kindly make enquiries and be fully informed about facts?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I will certainly make enquiry in view of the statement made by Mr. Hashemy.

Mr. PRATUL CHANDRA GANGULY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there is anything like offences against the State in the Penal Code?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Dacoities and theft cases in certain villages of Dacca district.

***201. Maulvi ABDUL WAHED:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing from January up to 30th June, 1940—

(*a*) the number of dacoities and thefts reported to have been committed in the villages under the Serajdikhan, Srinagar and Tangibari thanas of the Dacca district; and

(*b*) the number of cases in which the prosecutions were successful and ended in conviction?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: A statement is laid on the table.

Statement referred to in the reply to starred question No. 201, regarding dacoity and theft from January, 1940, up to the 30th June, 1940.

Name of the police-station.	Number of cases reported.		Number of cases ended in conviction.		Number of cases pending in Court.		Number of cases pending investigation.		Number of cases not sent up in charge sheet.	
	Dacoity.	Theft.	Dacoity.	Theft.	Dacoity.	Theft.	Dacoity.	Theft.	Dacoity.	Theft.
Tangibari ..	6	26	..	3	3	2	2	2	1	19
*Serajdikhan ..	4	39	..	8	2	11	..	..	2	20
Sreenagar ..	1	14	..	1	..	2	1	4	..	7

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Communal ratio of Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors of Police.

104. Maulvi ABDUL JABBAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(*a*) the total number of—

(1) Permanent, and

(2) Temporary—

(*i*) Sub-Inspectors of Police, and

(*ii*) Assistant Sub-Inspectors of Police

at present existing in Bengal; and

(*b*) the number of them that are—

(1) Hindus,

(2) Muslims, and

(3) Other castes?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: A statement is laid on the table.

Statement referred to in the reply to unstarred question No. 104.

	Permanent.				Temporary.				Grand Total.
	Hindus.	Muslims.	Others.	Total.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Others.	Total.	
Sub-Inspectors	902	652	47	1,601	142	51	8	201	1,8[illegible]
Assistant Sub-Inspectors.	1,061	496	71	1,628	174	68	5	247	1,8[illegible]
	1,963	1,148	118	3,229	316	119	13	448	3,6[illegible]

Maulvi ABDUL JABBAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how the Assistant Sub-Inspectors are appointed—either by direct recruitment or by indirect recruitment?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: They are promoted and there is no direct recruitment.

Maulvi ABDUL JABBAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of Muslims and Hindus that were promoted to the post of Assistant Sub-Inspector during 1939-40?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Maulvi ABDUL JABBAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why the number of Muslim Assistant Sub-Inspectors both temporary and permanent is so meagre compared with those of the other communities?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Because the ratio in the existing services of constables from whom the Assistant Sub-Inspectors are promoted is practically 3 : 1 or 4 : 1 ; so naturally if we accept efficiency and merit on the part of the representatives of the two communities to be equal, the promotions will be in the ratio of the two communities amongst the constables.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider that unless Assistant Sub-Inspectors are directly recruited, there is no possibility of the quota being maintained?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of argument.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of direct recruitment of Assistant Sub-Inspectors?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Apart from this question, the Inspector-General of Police has put up proposals for starting again the system of direct recruitment of Assistant Sub-Inspectors.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTION.

[The debate on the resolution of Mr. Mirza Abdul Hafiz then resumed.]

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Sir, I am sorry that I have to oppose the resolution moved by my friend, Mr. Mirza Abdul Hafiz because I find, Sir, that the resolution is very vague. He wants that Government should give effect to the recommendations of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission with necessary modifications, but he has not suggested any modification. So, I feel very much handicapped in meeting his points with any effect.

Now, Sir, I should clearly state my position that I do not want the abolition of the Permanent Settlement for the sake of mere abolition. I want that Permanent Settlement should give place to some other land revenue system in the interests of the peasants as well as of the people of Bengal as a whole. I feel that the abolition of Permanent Settlement is not the solution of the problems with which the peasants of this province are faced. The problems with which our peasantry are faced are six-fold. Firstly, the problem of reduction of the volume of their holding: the average holding of an agriculturist of our province has fallen down to about 3 bighas, and it needs no arguing that an agriculturist with 3 bighas of land cannot maintain himself and his wife and children with the produce that he can get from those 3 bighas. The second problem is the fall in the fertility of the land. Sir, it is common knowledge that the fertility of the lands of Bengal has very much fallen in several parts of this province, and it is high time that the fertility of the soil was increased by irrigation and other means. The third problem is the fall in the price of crop. It is also common knowledge that the agriculturists are not getting fair value—not only no fair value but not even economic value—for the crop that they produce with the sweat of their brow. The fourth problem is that they need immediate addition to their income. As I have already stated in this House several times, an average agricultural family consisting of one adult male, one adult female and two children cannot maintain themselves with the produce of the holding they possess. It is urgently necessary that some sort of arrangement must be made with State-aid to enable the agriculturists to add to their income. Then, Sir, the fifth problem is want of rural credit facilities. Sir, I need not take the time of this House on this point, because I believe that everybody feels that immediate attempts should be made for extending credit facilities in our rural area. We all know that for want of rural credit—for whatsoever reason it may have been caused—the agriculturists are being forced to sell their lands outright, and, it pains me to tell the members that many

peasants of my district had to sell the little silver they had at their homes belonging to their womenfolk to purchase seeds with its sale-proceeds in the course of the last few years. Then, Sir, the last problem is the problem of opening out new means of livelihood to our peasants; and I suggest that new avenues of life can only be found in the field of trade and industry. Sir, in order to solve all these problems it is clear that a huge amount of money is necessary, and the State should come to their aid to find the adequate amount of money, however big the amount may be. On the other hand, landlordism is no longer a paying proposition to the landlords. The landlords are not being able to depend on their agricultural income.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Have you taken a brief for them?

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Have patience. That landlordism is no longer a paying proposition is a logical conclusion, because landlordism is not a scientific means of livelihood. It is absolutely dependent on other factors. The main factor is the capacity of the tenants to pay rent, and we all know that the capacity of the tenants to pay rent has been reduced to almost nil. Therefore it is high time that the landlords should immediately take to some scientific means of livelihood. Such means, in my opinion, can only be found in the field of trade and industry. So, Sir, I submit that from both points of view, from the point of view of the interests of the peasants as well as of the landlords, the State should see that trade and industry are expanded, and adequate money found for that purpose. Sufficient money should also be found by the State for the purpose of irrigation by the resuscitation of the dead and dying rivers of this province, for the establishment of an organisation whereby the commercial produces of the peasants can be sold to enable them to get a fair value, for starting big industries wherein the peasants may get employment to earn their livelihood, for starting credit institutions under the auspices of Government from where the peasants can get money whenever they require, and also for financing small industries so that the agriculturists may add to their income by taking up small cottage industries. Therefore, Sir, Government require a huge amount of money to supply these needs in order to solve the real problems not only of the peasants but also of the whole people of Bengal.

I should now examine the sources from which Government can get the additional money. Sir, what are the main heads under which Government derive their revenue? The main heads are Customs duty, Stamps, Excise and Land Revenue. As regards Customs duty, we find in the last year's revised budget that Government expected to get 2 crores of rupees as jute duty, but I am afraid that the income under this head.

will decrease this year. So this head of income cannot yield increased income. Secondly, as regards excise income, I submit that the income under this head also cannot be expanded and should not be expanded. Then comes income under the head "Stamps". Income under this head also cannot be expanded. I wish that it should rather be reduced. Then, fourthly, comes Land Revenue. This is the only head of income which can be increased. If Government acquire the interests of the rent receivers from the proprietors down to the *raiyat* landlords, they may get the whole amount of rent that is realised from the tillers of the soil of this province. Thus Government may get no less than 17 crores of rupees as land revenue. If we deduct from that amount the amount of 3 crores 12 lakhs which is Government's present demand of land revenue then they are to get a gross additional income of about 13 crores 88 lakhs. Then after deducting expenses for collection and for making allowances for non-realisation of rent and for other contingencies, Government may get an additional net income of about 10 crores of rupees. I suggest that 1 crore of rupees be set apart out of this net additional income for the expansion of free and compulsory primary education and 50 lakhs for the establishment of charitable dispensaries in every union, a scheme for which has already been taken up by Government. Thus, Government may get at their disposal a net additional income of about 8½ crores of rupees. Government may capitalise this amount and out of the loan raised against this amount may pay the compensation for acquisition, may pay for wiping out the debt of the peasants in a day and may also pay for the expenses of irrigation, for the establishment of credit institutions and industrial institutions. If, therefore, the Permanent Settlement be abolished and if along with it the interests of the landlords including even the *raiyat* where the *raiyat* is the landlord of an under-*raiyat*, are acquired by Government, then a huge additional income can be available to Government and with this money Government may solve the real problems of the peasantry of the province and also the landlords and creditors of the agriculturists may get a huge amount of money by way of compensation and repayment of their dues, with which they may develop trade and industry to earn their livelihood in a scientific manner. From that point of view, Sir, the Permanent Settlement should be given a go-by. If that is done, a new socio-economic structure may be constructed out of the proceeds of that abolition. For this purpose, in 1937, during the first session of the Legislative Assembly, the Congress Party tabled a resolution and from that time onwards they went on tabling that resolution at every session till the Floud Commission was appointed. Now I find that the Floud Commission has submitted its report supporting almost every viewpoint of the Congress Party and we shall await the time when the Government comes with a substantive proposal to give effect to the recommendations of the Floud Commission. To one thing I should register my objections to-night

and that is in respect of the suggestion of the Floud Commission that the interests of the *raiyats* where they are landlords over under-*raiyats* need not be acquired immediately along with the acquisition of the interests of other landlords. Sir, in that respect the Floud Commission observed in the following terms, viz.—

"It depends on the decision whether the existing rents paid by the lowest grade of under-*raiyat* would be considered under State management to be fair and equitable or whether they would have to be reduced." Sir, I submit that the suggestion underlying this is that the Government should take steps first to reduce the rent payable by the under-*raiyat* to the *raiyat* so that the compensation payable by the under-*raiyat* may be reduced. I submit, Sir, that that would be an injustice to the *raiyats*, because the *raiyats* must have invested good sums of money for the acquisition of lands which they have let out to the under-*raiyats* and they must have let out their lands to the under-*raiyats* at a rent higher than the rent that they pay to their landlord, and so, Sir, it will be inequitable and unjust if the *raiyats'* interests in getting fair compensation are made to suffer by reduction of the amount of rent payable to them by the under-*raiyats*. Besides that, I am strongly of the opinion that along with the acquisition of the interests of other landlords, the interests of the *raiyat*-landlords also should be acquired. We, the Congress Party, shall not allow the *raiyat*-landlords to remain unaffected. If they are allowed to do so, they will turn out to be a new class of landlords more oppressive to the tillers of the soil than the present landlords.

With these observations on the Report of the Floud Commission and reserving my comments on other recommendations of that body, I conclude my speech to-day. I shall again say that I am sorry that I cannot support the resolution.

Maulvi ABUL QUASEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act of 1938 was placed on the Statute Book, on the 18th of August, 1938, the Hon'ble Minister in charge made no claim whatever that the measure had in view a radical reform of the existing system of land tenure, but it was stated that inasmuch as some of the existing provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act had been found to operate rather harshly on the cultivators what the Bill was aiming at was to lessen the burden on the cultivators. This statement itself was keenly controverted and although the Act, as passed, has substantially followed the lines of the Bill as introduced, it nevertheless had a stormy passage.

The dust of controversy rose so thick in and outside the Council House a year ago that the Government thought it prudent to appoint a Land Revenue Commission early in November, 1938, to examine the existing Land Revenue system of Bengal in its various aspects with.

special reference to the Permanent Settlement, to estimate the effect of the system, on the economic and social structure of Bengal and its influence on the revenues and administrative machinery of the Provincial Government and to suggest solutions within the given terms of reference.

The Land Revenue Commission began its work, in right earnest, made a contour survey not only of the province but visited other provinces and came to certain important conclusions and made recommendations accordingly. The first and most important recommendation was the abolition of the Permanent Settlement.

According to them, whatever may have been the justification for the Permanent Settlement in 1793, it is no longer suitable to the conditions of the present time. The zemindars simply offered unoccupied lands to intending cultivators whose number increased enormously during the first part of the last century and lands previously uncultivated were brought into cultivation but not really through their agency. They only availed themselves of the opportunity for rack-renting offering and converted themselves into rent receivers and have failed to perform the functions expected of them at the Permanent Settlement. The improvement of land is not the concern of any of the landed classes. Everybody's business is nobody's business. The Zamindar says that he is no longer responsible for improvement of land, he feels that he is out of the picture and has no interest in the land except passively to receive its rent. The same answer is repeated by all the landlords making up the whole chain of subinfeudation. When such is the present condition of Bengal, the Commission thought that the State as a custodian of the province could not stand by and see the land of the country going to rack and ruin for want of proper care—on the part of those who are extracting all that it can yield without compensating its declining potentialities and recommended that all the Zamindars' interests should be acquired by the Government and a fair compensation at a flat rate should be paid.

They have also given suggestions by which a machinery for agricultural improvement can be set up to function visibly, openly and successfully by which the properties of the soil instead of being exhausted will be improved giving a better yield as compared with other countries.

It is on this matter that one notices with regret that the commission has contented itself with more or less vague and pious recommendations instead of going deeply and resolutely into the question and giving a concrete scheme of work to which the Government might put its hand immediately. They have recommended consolidation of holdings, irrigation, co-operative societies and lots of other things which have been similarly vaguely hinted at, times without number by the Banking Enquiry Committee, the Royal Agricultural Commission

and other bodies. But the question of questions is how to start and carry out work for these objects, what is to be the ultimate objective and by what stages such objective would be achieved. On this all important question the Commission has left us without any guidance. In the evidence given before the Commission, such concrete schemes were suggested. For instance, suggestions were made by Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta for a great planned economic drive including collectivation, co-operative sale and purchase, co-operative finance, planned organisation of subsidiary industries, etc., which could be started experimentally in about a dozen centres. There may have been other suggestions of a like nature. I take the liberty of referring to Dr. Sen Gupta's answers to the questionnaire where an outline of the scheme is given (vide pages 70-75 answer to the questionnaire issued by the Land Revenue Commission). Unfortunately, the Commission do not seem to have given any consideration to detailed schemes like these. And yet, if the purchase of landlords' interests is to lead to any real good to the cultivators it is essential that some such great plan should be carried into effect. Otherwise, zamindars and tenure-holders may go but the cultivators would be not one whit better for it.

With this reservation I agree with the suggestion provided that they are carried into effect honestly to improve the admittedly hard conditions of the toiling tillers of the soil. But if nothing else is done the abolition of the Permanent Settlement or even of all intermediate tenures would be of no use whatever.

If land continues to be cultivated by a multitude of starving cultivators without resources to make agriculture a profitable industry, the mere removal of the incubus of landlords and the substitution for it of the State would be of no benefit whatever.

While I hold and insist that the whole land system should be radically recast on lines which would enable the country to get the utmost value from its resources in land, I hold as strongly that if such readjustment is not made the mere abolition of the Permanent Settlement would be a wanton act of spoliation and breach of faith to no purpose.

Whether you seek to buy up zamindaries or you leave them there the primary problem therefore is to increase the agricultural wealth so as to make agriculture a profitable industry. The buying up of zamindaries and intermediate interests in order to be of any use must therefore follow and not precede a programme for increasing the agricultural wealth by an aggressive economic policy.

I am definitely of opinion that it is possible substantially to increase the agricultural wealth of the province by a programme of improved methods of planned production and co-operative marketing of agricultural produce, of development of industries, notably subsidiary

industries, in several areas and of a rural banking system to finance the programme.

The effect of the organisation which I visualise as the end of that programme would be that the resources of the province with its rich land and teeming labour would be put to the fullest use under the guidance and control of expert agencies which will be in a position to deal with the economic resources of the entire province as one whole and under whom the labour of each man will supplement that of everybody else in the province and jointly build up a rich fabric of prosperity for the province. That economic structure will solve every problem and find work and wages for all, zamindars and peasants, Bhadralok and labourer and make them all prosper.

The Commission has recommended to impose agricultural income-tax as a transitional measure. I do not agree with them. (Cries of "why, why" from the Opposition Benches.) I am telling you the reason. It will not be popular and the elaborate enquiry which will be necessary every year to find out the assessable income of each agriculturist, the majority of whom are illiterate and incapable of filing a proper return, will make the whole scheme impracticable and oppressive.

The Commission has recommended that experiment should be made in selected areas to consolidate holdings. There is no doubt that consolidation of holdings will do some good and that only to those who have enough lands,—it will not however help the peasantry as a whole. That problem has to be tackled by bolder devices like collectivation.

The Commission has recommended that the irrigation problem should be examined by an expert committee. The difficulties which have been encountered in connection with some of the major irrigation schemes should not deter Government from embarking on further schemes under the Bengal Development Act. I hope and trust that the Government will act on this recommendation immediately by boldly taking up the Hooghly-Howrah Flushing Scheme, under the Bengal Development Act, and make a declaration on the floor of the House of the Assembly as per their announcement from Darjeeling on the 24th April last.

They have recommended that *bargadars* should be regarded as tenants and given definite rights though not necessarily all rights of an occupancy *raiyat*. They have also proposed to forbid subletting in any form and last of all the modifications which are recommended in the existing law for enhancement and reduction of rent to my mind will give relief to the cultivators in general.

In conclusion the suggestions given by the Commission if accepted by the House and if the Government put their shoulder to the wheel

with great good will and initiate bold and progressive programmes of Reform such as I have suggested above, a new era will begin which will remove the chronic poverty, sickness and illiteracy of the people and carve out a new career of greatness and prosperity on a level with that of the forward nations of the world. With these words, I support the motion of Mr. Mirza Abdul Hafiz.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg leave to offer a few observations upon this resolution which at the present day certainly is of considerable importance. Sir, so far as the question of the abolition of Permanent Settlement is concerned, there cannot be two opinions, and it is the unanimous demand of all conscious political opinion that this Permanent Settlement should go if not for any other reason at least for the simple reason that this system is an artificial system foisted upon the shoulders of a province not for the interests of the tenantry but in the interests of foreign masters. It is a matter of recent history, Sir, that the Britishers who came to trade here found that along with trade profits they all of a sudden got the foundations of a mighty empire, and they had not the proper machinery to run the administration so far as the revenue side of it was concerned. Therefore, in the exigencies of the situation they thought it necessary to introduce a class of housewives in order to run the efficient collection of revenues at least for the time being. So, Sir, the propping up or development of zemindaries was more a necessity of the foreigners than it was a natural development of the province itself. And you know, Sir, very well that these Zamindars served at the initial stage of the British Empire here as a principal joist in the steel frame of the British administration, and as a result of that what happened? The Zamindars were asked only to give a portion of the total collections of revenue to their British masters and they were given the charter to scrape as much as they could from those who were at the bottom and during all this period of time these Zamindars have on the one hand played the part of hirelings to their British masters and on the other they have played the part of extortionists to the detriment of the people at large. Sir, look at the monstrous situation. The arrangement is such that the land is nowhere in the picture. Although, Sir, it is said to be a revenue administration relating to the land itself, still a grand staircase of intermediary relations was created and the land was no part of it. The Government at the top was satisfied by getting something from the Zamindars; the Zamindars also settled their interest with *patnidars* and *darpatnidars* and they were satisfied with getting something from these intermediary interest-holders, and in this way the people at the bottom have to contribute to all these interest-holders at the top, and the land was no basis of this relation. As a result of this, there has been eternal neglect of the land itself, and the State has never found itself or felt itself under any obligation to look to the land and to improve its quality so that there could be maximum good for the largest number.

As my friend Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas has just pointed out, Sir, several crores of rupees are actually collected from the tenants. Out of this only a small fraction goes to the coffers of Government and the major portion is handed over to a handful of people who have no other justification for enjoying the cream of revenue excepting the justification of heredity. Now, Sir, this is a thing which should be put a stop to. Time has gone by when people would flourish on account of heredity and time has come when all political interests concerned must put their heads together with a view to the maximum distribution of the assets of the State so that the greatest good to the greatest number may be done. Sir, according to the minimum computation, if the Zamindars are got rid of, then at least 10 crores of rupees, according to the present calculation, will be made available every year for Bengal. Just fancy, Sir, if these 10 crores are available for distribution over the 28 districts of Bengal, in course of five years' planning, rural reconstruction scheme, sanitation scheme and primary education scheme of this province would grow by leaps and bounds. Sir, 10 crores of rupees is not a matter of joke, and every year every district will get a portion of these 10 crores. Thus, the eternal argument of funds, the eternal argument of paucity of funds—all these things will be solved to a great extent by the abolition of the Zamindary system and by the absorption of everything of revenue in the interest of the province at large.

Now, Sir, then comes.....(A VOICE: What about intermediaries?) .....I am coming to that. Coming to the question of compensation, Sir, I must make it clear that I am against it. If compensation has to be given, who will bear the burden of this compensation? The question again arises that the tenants who are already bearing the unbearable burden of the zamindaries will have to bear the same burden in another shape, but this is a thing against which the tenantry of Bengal and those who think in the light of the agriculturists have voiced their protest, and I want, Sir, to join my feeble voice with this protest. I submit, Sir, that no question of compensation arises. The distribution of assets—the distribution of property—is one of the problems and processes of growing political power, and it is one of the elements of democracy. In anti-democratic conditions of Society money remains mobilized in groups and in coteries, but as soon as democracy extends the money which is otherwise mobilized in certain quarters is distributed over a large portion of the population. Now these zamindaries yield annual incomes of crores of rupees. These crores of rupees have so long been enjoyed by a handful of people. The time has come when these crores will have to be distributed among the bulk of the population and therefore no question of compensation arises here. Sir, I will just cite a parallel. Many millionaires will deposit their capital in banks; they invest their capital in industries and sometimes these industries flourish and sometimes these industries fail. When these industries flourish, they never think of giving a portion of their profits to others and when these industries fail they have got to bear the burden

of losses. Similarly, acquisition of zamindaries is a business proposition. They flourish for some time and so long as these zamindaries flourish there is no question of expecting anything out of the profits of the zamindary system, and now, Sir, a time has come when these zamindaries must be made to pay and no question of compensation arises. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Coalition Benches.)

(Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas: জমিদারদের থাকবার আর কোন justification আমি দেখি না।)

The honourable member knows very well that front benchers are as much anxious as the back benchers in these matters. The honourable member from Jessore has got a convenient memory and probably like the Bhowal Sannyasi his memory has failed. So long as he belonged to the Opposition party he knew that I opposed my friend in certain matters, but after crossing the floor my friend has got a convenient memory and he never loses an opportunity of hitting below the belt of the proud Opposition to which he had the honour of belonging during a proud chapter of his career.

Now, Sir, coming back to this question of compensation, the other day we passed the Money-lenders Bill into an Act. There was certainly a great protest and clamour against the passing of the Act, and there was the argument that certain classes would suffer. We know that certain classes would suffer. It is an admitted proposition that if we want to do the greatest good to the greatest number, a small number will suffer, but we have unanimously adopted a piece of legislation, because, although it is calculated to do some harm to certain classes of capitalists, it will come as a relief to the people of Bengal. Similarly, by absorption of zamindaries certain classes will suffer, but the majority of the people will get the benefit thereof, and it is no use saying that the classes which have so long enjoyed the benefit of unearned increment should be the classes for which we should entertain safeguards at the cost of others who are at the bottom.

Sir, the question of compensation can be solved otherwise, because my friends who think on the lines of zamindars legitimately complain that there will be expropriation and some people will be put to difficulty. I submit, Sir, there are two solutions of it. Let this abolition be by the process of gradual absorption. Let the zamindary—after the death of the Zamindar—let half of his property be confiscated and go to the State and after the death of the second Zamindar let another 50 per cent. of the property go over to the State. In this way, Sir, in the course of three generations the existing zamindaries will go out giving minimum trouble to the Zamindars, and the zamindaries will gradually go to the State. During this time they will get the advantage and the time for preparing themselves for the future adjustment.

There is also another suggestion which I want to make before you, Sir, namely, that the Zamindars who will be thrown out of their

zamindaries can temporarily be maintained by Government by appointments which are at the disposal of Government. Sir, to-day there is a clamour for Hindus and Muslims in the offices. But, Sir, I do not find any utility of the post going to able-bodied people. Government can, however, use its patronage by giving employment to those classes of people from which we are wresting the zamindaries. There are educated people amongst Zamindars and we can give them employment beginning from clerks to Ministers, if necessary, and their children will get the benefit of their income and in this way we can save them from immediate destruction and we can give them plenty of time to adjust themselves to their future relations with the Government of the Province.

Now, Sir, in this connection, I will make bold to make one suggestion to the Hon'ble Revenue Minister who is smiling very jubilantly over this matter—probably he is smiling because he is thinking that the Floud Commission has served to shelve the matter for the time being and the discussion will also serve to shelve the matter for some time more. But I warn him that it will not do to shelve the matter for a long time because the day of reckoning is coming and the answer must be given before that. Sir, I venture to give this suggestion—let us get hold of the *debuttar* and *wâkf* properties immediately which are not anybody's property. These are public endowments. According to the *wâkf* law these zamindaries have been created ostensibly and legally for the purpose of society. But how do they stand now? They have gone over to the clutches of certain classes of *mohunts* and *mutwallis*, and we all know that the less said of them the better. The properties which have been created by large-hearted people for the benefit of the people are now in the hands of people who are living wretched, miserable and objectionable lives and are squandering away the benefits of those properties. Sir, there is no question of individual misappropriation because these zamindaries were acquired and created not for individual purposes but for public purposes. Let us go ahead. For the time being let us get hold of these *debuttar* and *wâkf* properties and for the time being let us make an income out of these properties for the benefit of the great commune. I know, Sir, my friend Mr. Syed Badrudduja will bear me out when I say that in my district there is a big *debuttar* property known as Kandi Raj out of the income of which, according to the Trust, a sum of Rs. 100 has got to be spent daily for the feeding of the poor. My honourable friend, the Hon'ble Maharaja of Cossimbazar, will also agree with me when I say that instead of feeding the poor, the coffers of the zamindary are used for the feeding of the rich and we know that those who have got more than enough get the benefit of these *debuttar* properties but those for whom these properties were meant, namely, the poor people, do not get anything. Supposing, if to-day Government get hold of the properties of this Kandi Raj—even if it is meant to be used for the Hindus—we can use them for the benefit of Hindu students, Hindu scholars and for poor Hindu families. The assets of this estate may be made available for the benefit of the poorer section of the Hindu

community. Similarly, there are *wakf* properties which were intended by pious Muslims for the benefit of the poor, but they have now gone to the hands of designing and wily people who use them for most objectionable purposes.

Sir, let us put our shoulders together and go ahead. Let us get hold of these properties and make them available for those who are at the bottom.

Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. Quasem, objected to the introduction of interests. My friend was interjecting what would be the fate of the subordinate interests. Sir, I have no hesitation in my mind—I have no confusion in my mind—I am clear in my opinion that all interests above the actual farmer or the tiller of the soil must be nationalised because I feel the distribution of lands must be recast on a thoroughly new basis so that the maximum outturn may be had from the neglected lands and the maximum outturn cannot be had out of the neglected lands unless all idle vested interests are removed and replaced by actual farmers and tillers of the soil. Sir, I submit that a new distribution ought to be made and persons who are earning an income otherwise should be given less of the benefit of lands than others who depend entirely upon the land itself. I know of pathetic illustrations which are too many—a man who is working in the Secretariat here drawing probably Rs. 150 or more per month, is also the owner of several hundreds of bighas of land. This is against the national principle of distribution and my submission is that when the land revenue system is revised and re-settled, those who are earning otherwise should be given less of the benefit of the land and those who are not earning otherwise should be given more benefit of the land. Because those persons who exclusively depend upon land, if lands are placed more in the hands of such people, there will be more outturn and the more scientific will be the arrangement and this will give the maximum good to the maximum number.

Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. Quasem, objected to the introduction of agricultural income-tax, and the reasons which he has assigned do not appeal to me. Sir, if we really believe that the recommendations of the Floud Commission are for the good of the people, then we must go ahead with the working propositions raised therein. Probably the more ambitious portions of the scheme will take some time. So let us take hold of the less ambitious ones. My own opinion is that just as it is possible to get hold of the *debuttar* and *wakf* properties by a process of abolition—we may make an experiment of abolition—so on the other hand we ought to introduce without any delay an agricultural income-tax upon the zamindary income. This will give some money to Government and by this, I think, we can implement our promises and desires with regard to primary education.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Sir, the question may now be put

Mr. SPEAKER: I must give the Maharajkumar of Burdwan an opportunity so that he may represent his point of view. After that, if you insist on it, I will consider it then.

Maharajkumar UDAY CHAND MAHTAB: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the resolution of Mr. Abdul Hafiz raises questions which are of vital importance to the province.

Sir, the recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission cover a very wide range and involve complex and intricate problems.

Sir, the recommendations of the Floud Commission are mainly for acquisition of all rent-receiving interests down to the actual cultivators of the soil in revenue free, permanently-settled, and temporarily-settled estates. If these recommendations are accepted and given effect to, a large number of people including Zamindars, tenure-holders and *raiyats* will be rendered landless. The recommendations, therefore, are vast and are of a very far-reaching character and a careful scrutiny of the various questions involved is necessary.

Sir, this is however not the occasion when one should or need go into the merits of the recommendations. An examination of the proposals from economic and administrative points of view is naturally unavoidable and before that examination is over by the special officer appointed by Government, I do not desire to make any observation on the merits of the recommendations.

Sir, hasty legislation or ill-considered steps affecting the life of over 80 per cent. of the people of Bengal will be deplorable and disastrous in consequence.

Sir, those who are anxious for the recommendations being accepted by Government should realise that the proposals are not going to affect merely a handful of Zamindars at the top but the whole hierarchy of rent-receivers beginning from the Zamindar down to the non-cultivating *raiyat*.

Sir, if it is decided to purchase all rent-receiving interests adequate compensation should be payable to those whose interests will be acquired. It will be a disaster of the first magnitude if an attempt is made to expropriate such a vast body of people who formed the backbone of the country. It will not only result in complete economic collapse of the Province but there will also be unavoidable repurcussions on the finances of Government and the stability of society. There has been no investigation as to what social and economic readjustment there can be if the Commission's recommendations are adopted and as to whether circumstanced as we are, there can be an adjustment which will not disrupt society bringing widespread and lasting misery on the people of this province of all classes and sections.

Sir, the present land tenure system with modifications in detail has developed with the growth and development of the province from the

Hindu period and any violent change in the system without careful examination of its consequences is, to say the least, most undesirable and should be avoided by all means.

Sir, the Land Revenue Commission had occasion to visit other provinces in India where the *ryotwari* system prevails and the condition of the tiller of the soil in those provinces should be carefully compared with that in Bengal before it is decided to make a change.

Sir, on the above grounds I oppose the resolution and support the idea of the recommendations being carefully considered by Government before any decision is taken.

Maulvi ABDUL HAKIM (Mymensingh): সভাপতি মহোদয়, আমি আমার সহযোগী মিজর্জা আব্দুল হাফিজ সাহেবের প্রস্তাবটি সমর্থনের পক্ষে Land Revenue Commissionএর রিপোর্ট সম্বন্ধে দুই চারিটি কথা বলা আবশ্যক মনে করি। Land Revenue Commission গভর্ণমেণ্ট কেন বসাইয়া ছিলেন আমি প্রথমে তাহাই বলিতেছি। গভর্ণমেণ্ট এবং চাষী এই উভয়ের মাঝখানে জমিদার প্রভৃতি যে সকল মধ্যস্বত্বাধিকারী আছে তাহারাই বর্ত্তমানে বাঙলার চাষীদের খাজনার টাকার অধিকাংশই আত্মসাৎ করিতেছে; তদ্দরুণ মাদ্রাজ, পাঞ্জাব, যুক্ত-প্রদেশ প্রভৃতি যে সকল প্রদেশে জমিদারী প্রথা নাই সে সকল প্রদেশের তুলনায় বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্ট অত্যন্ত ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হইতেছেন। এই ক্ষতি তাহারা যাহাতে আর না করিতে পারে সেই উদ্দেশ্যে জমিদারী এবং অন্যান্য মধ্যবর্ত্তীস্বত্ব উঠাইয়া দিয়া প্রকৃত চাষীকে গভর্ণমেণ্টের সাক্ষাৎ অধীনে আনিয়া চাষী প্রজাদের দেয় সাকুল্য খাজনার টাকাটা গভর্ণমেণ্ট নিজ তহবিলে আনিয়া গভর্ণমেণ্টের আয় বৃদ্ধি করিতে পারা যায় কিনা এবং তাহা সম্ভব হইলে বাংলার বর্ত্তমান ভূমিসংক্রান্ত আইন পরিবর্ত্তন করত: তাহাও পুনরায় কিরূপভাবে প্রণয়ন করা উচিত প্রধানত: এই বিষয়ে একটি সুচিন্তিত মতামত পাইবার জন্যই গভর্ণমেণ্ট এই কমিশন বসাইয়া ছিলেন।

প্রায় দুই বৎসরকাল তদন্ত করার পর গত মার্চ্চ মাসে কমিশন রিপোর্ট দাখিল করিয়াছেন। এই রিপোর্টে তাঁহারা যে সকল বিষয়ে সুপারিশ করিয়াছেন সেই সকল বিষয় যত দূর সম্ভব কার্য্যে পরিণত করিবার জন্যই এই প্রস্তাব উপস্থিত করা হইয়াছে।

কমিশন যে সকল বিষয়ে সুপারিশ করিয়াছেন তন্মধ্যে জমিদার প্রভৃতি মধ্যবর্ত্তিগণকে ক্ষতিপূরণ দিয়া উঠাইয়া দেওয়ার যে কথাটা তাঁহারা বলিয়াছেন সেই কথাটাই সর্ব্বাপেক্ষা বড় কথা এবং সর্ব্বাপেক্ষা জটিল। কমিশনের অধিকাংশ মেম্বার জমিদার প্রভৃতি মধ্যবর্ত্তিগণকে তাঁহাদের বর্ত্তমান খাজনার আয়ের দশগুণ ক্ষতিপূরণ দিয়া উঠাইয়া দিবার প্রস্তাব করিয়াছেন। আর সকল রকম মধ্যবর্ত্তিগণকে একই নিয়মে এই ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকা দিতে হইবে এবং সমস্ত টাকা গভর্ণমেণ্ট নগদ দিতে অসমর্থ বলিয়া যাঁহাদের ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকা ৫০০৲ টাকা পর্য্যন্ত হইবে তাঁহাদিগকে নগদ দিয়া অবশিষ্ট সকলকে বর্ত্তমানে দলিল দিয়া রাখিয়া ৬০ বৎসর মধ্যে ক্রমে ক্রমে টাকা দিবার কথা সুপারিশ করিয়াছেন। ষাট বৎসর মধ্যে সুদসহ ক্রমে ক্রমে এই টাকা

পরিশোধ করা সম্বন্ধে প্রজাদের কোন আপত্তি নাই বটে, কিন্তু তাঁহাদের সকলকে দশ-গুণ ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া সম্বন্ধে এবং এই ক্ষতিপূরণ বাবদ আবার আদায় খরচ, পথকর ও সরকারী রাজস্ব বাদে বর্ত্তমান খাজনার দশগুণ টাকা প্রত্যেক মধ্যবর্ত্তীকে দেওয়া সম্বন্ধে যে সুপারিশ করিয়াছেন তৎসম্বন্ধে যে প্রজাদের ঘোরতর আপত্তি আছে আমি তাহাই সর্ব্বপ্রথমে বলিতে চাই।

এই সম্বন্ধে আমার প্রথম কথা এই যে, যাহাতে গভর্ণমেণ্টের আয় বৃদ্ধি হয়, কমিশনের অধিকাংশ মেম্বার তৎসম্বন্ধে একমত। কিন্তু প্রজাদের হাড়ভাঙ্গা খাজনার নিরিখ সম্বন্ধে এবং এই হাড়ভাঙ্গা খাজনার দায়ে পড়িয়া যাহাদের জমি নীলাম হইয়া যাইতেছে সেই সকল হতভাগ্য প্রজাদের সম্বন্ধে কিংবা এইরূপ অন্যায় ও অত্যধিক খাজনার দায়ে পড়িয়া যে সকল প্রজা পথের ভিখারী হইয়া গিয়াছে তাহাদের সম্বন্ধে দুই একজন মেম্বার ব্যতীত কমিশনের অধিকাংশ মেম্বার বেশী কিছু বলেন নাই। বরং Bengal Raiyats are better situated বলিয়া কমিশনের অধিকাংশ মেম্বার মত দিয়াছেন। তাঁহারা ইহাও বলিয়াছেন যে, মাদ্রাজ, পাঞ্জাব, যুক্ত-প্রদেশ প্রভৃতি প্রদেশের তুলনায় বাংলার প্রজাদের খাজনার নিরিখ সাধারণতঃ কম। কাজে কাজেই বাংলাদেশে প্রজাদের খাজনার নিরিখ কমাইবার কোন প্রয়োজন নাই। তবে প্রজাদের পক্ষে একটু সুপারিশ না করিলে নেহাৎ দৃষ্টিকটু হয়, সেই জন্যই বোধ হয় তাঁহারা রিপোর্টের ১৭৯ পৃষ্ঠায় বলিয়াছেন যে, যে অল্প কতক জায়গায় খাজনার নিরিখ অত্যধিক কেবল সেইসব জায়গায় প্রজাস্বত্ব আইনের ১১২ ধারার প্রয়োগ করিয়া খাজনা কমাইয়া দেওয়া উচিত। কিন্তু কত খাজনার উপরে ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া উচিত সেই প্রশ্ন সম্বন্ধে আমার প্রধান কথা এই যে, চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত দেওয়ার সময়ে যে পরগণায় যে নিরিখ ছিল তাহা অতিক্রম করিয়া জমিদারগণ বাংলার প্রজাদের খাজনা যেরূপ অসঙ্গত-ভাবে বৃদ্ধি করিয়াছেন, সেই অসঙ্গত খাজনার উপর ক্ষতিপূরণ পাইতে তাঁহারা ন্যায়তঃ ও আইনতঃ অধিকারী নন।

জমিদারী এলাকায় অল্প কতক স্থানে এখনও দুই টাকা তিন টাকা খাজনার নিরিখ দৃষ্ট হয়। আমার মনে হয় সেই সকল জায়গায় জমিদারগণ নিরিখ বৃদ্ধি করার কোনও সুযোগ পান নাই। আবার কোনও কোনও জায়গায় নিরিখ এরূপ বৃদ্ধি হইয়াছে যে, তাহা শুনিয়া অনেকের চক্ষু তালুতে উঠিতে পারে। মোটের উপর বাংলাদেশে রায়ত-দের খাজনার নিরিখ ২৲/৩৲ হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া ২৫।৩৲ টাকা পর্য্যন্ত উঠিয়াছে। কমিশনের সুযোগ্য মেম্বার খান বাহাদুর সৈয়দ মোয়াজ্জেম উদ্দিন হোসেন সাহেবও অত্যধিক খাজনা সম্বন্ধে একটি পৃথক নোট দিয়া বলিয়া দিয়াছেন যে, চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত পাওয়ার পর জমিদারগণ সাবেক নিরিখ অপেক্ষা বর্ত্তমানে খাজনা শতকরা ১৬০ ভাগ বৃদ্ধি করিয়া-ছেন। এইরূপ বে-আইনী এবং অসঙ্গত খাজনাকে ন্যায্য খাজনা বলিলে সত্যের নিতান্ত অপলাপ করা হইবে। এই খাজনা প্রজাদের উপর জুলুম ব্যতীত আর কিছুই নহে।

একথা ধ্রুব সত্য যে চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের সময়ে জমিদারদিগকে ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পা-নীর ডিরেক্টরগণ যে সদুপদেশ দিয়াছিলেন তাহা প্রজাদের পক্ষে অত্যন্ত মূল্যবান এবং হিতজনক। সেই উপদেশটি এই "it is an object of perpetual settlement

that it should secure to the great body of the raiyats the same equity and certainty as to the amount of their rents and the same undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of their industry which we mean to give to the Zamindars themselves". অর্থাৎ জমিদারগণকে স্পষ্ট করিয়া উপদেশ দেওয়া হইয়াছিল যে তাঁহারা যেন প্রজাদের সহিত সদ্ব্যবহার করেন এবং গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাঁহাদের দেয় রাজস্ব সম্পর্কে যেরূপ সুবিধা এবং নিশ্চয়তা প্রদান করিলেন জমিদারগণও যেন তাহাদের অধীনস্থ প্রজাদের সম্বন্ধে অনুরূপ সুবিধা এবং নিশ্চয়তা প্রদান করেন। ইহার আসল অর্থ এই যে বিলাতের Court of Directors চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত দেওয়ার সময়ে প্রত্যেক পরগণার তৎকালীন খাজনার নিরিখকেও জমিদারদের সদর খাজনার ন্যায় চিরস্থায়ী করিয়া দিতে নির্দ্দেশ দিয়াছিলেন, কিন্তু Court of Directors-এর নির্দ্দেশ মতে যখন ভারতের তদানীন্তন বড়লাট চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত বিধিবদ্ধ করার জন্য রেগুলেশন পাশ করিলেন তখন সেই রেগুলেশনে রাইয়তদের খাজনাও যে বৃদ্ধি হইতে পারিবে না হতভাগ্য রাইয়তদের পক্ষে স্পষ্ট ভাষায় এই কথাটি উক্ত রেগুলেশনে লিপিবদ্ধ হয় নাই। অজ্ঞ নিরীহ প্রজাদের পক্ষে কেন এই কথাটি স্পষ্ট লিপিবদ্ধ করা হয় নাই তাহা আপনারা সহজেই বুঝিতে পারেন। কিন্তু যদিও ঐ রেগুলেশনে অতি স্পষ্ট ভাষায় এই কথাটি লিখিত হয় নাই তবুও ১৭৯৩ সনের ৮ম রেগুলেশনে এবং ১৭৯৪ সনের ৪র্থ রেগুলেশনে যাহা লিপিবদ্ধ আছে তাহা পাঠ করিলে সকলেই বুঝিতে পারিবেন যে তৎকালে যে পরগণা রেট ছিল সেই রেটের অতিরিক্ত খাজনা প্রজাদের নিকট হইতে আদায় করিতে জমিদারদের ন্যায়তঃ অধিকার ছিল না। ইহার পর ১৮৮৫ সনের প্রজাস্বত্ব আইনে যখন খাজনা বৃদ্ধির ধারা বসান হয়, তখন তাহাও চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের নীতি ও উদ্দেশ্য ব্যর্থ করিয়া করা হইয়াছিল। আসল কথা এই জমিদারগণকে ক্ষতিপূরণ দিতে গেলে পরগণা রেটের উপর ভিত্তি করিয়াই ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া উচিত হইবে। আর যদি প্রজাদের দুর্ভাগ্যবশতঃ পরগণা রেটের কোন কাগজপত্র গভর্ণমেণ্টের নিকট হইতে না পাওয়া যায় তবে জমিদারী প্রথা উঠাইয়া দেওয়ার পূর্ব্বে অবিলম্বে অত্যধিক খাজনা হ্রাস করিবার জন্য একটি সাময়িক আইন করিয়া প্রত্যেক মহালে জমিদারগণের জন্য সদর খাজনার উপর ন্যায়সঙ্গত মুনাফা রাখিয়া রাইয়তের খাজনা ধার্য্য করিয়া এবং তৎসঙ্গে অতিরিক্ত করভারাক্রান্ত কোর্ফা প্রজাদেরও ন্যায়সঙ্গত খাজনা ধার্য্য করতঃ সেই খাজনার উপর জমিদার এবং অপরাপর মধ্যবর্ত্তিগণকে ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া উচিত হইবে। কিরূপে খাজনা ধার্য্য করতঃ তাহার উপর ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া সাব্যস্ত করিতে হইবে তৎসম্বন্ধে গভর্ণমেণ্টের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করিবার জন্য আমি বর্ত্তমান অধিবেশনেই একটি আইনের খসড়া উপস্থিত করিবার নোটিশ দিয়াছি। আইন সভার আয়ু আর বেশী নাই বলিয়া আমি অতি তাড়াতাড়ি গভর্ণমেণ্টের মনোযোগ আকর্ষণ করিবার জন্যই উক্ত খসড়াটি আইন সভায় উপস্থিত করিবার নোটিশ দিয়াছি। আশা করি, প্রজাদের নিরিখ যাহাতে কমিয়া যায় তজ্জন্য আমার খসড়াটি গভর্ণমেণ্ট গ্রহণ করিবেন অথবা গভর্ণমেণ্ট নিজে অনুরূপ একটি মুসাবিদা আইন সভায় উপস্থিত করিবেন।

কমিশনও একথা সুপারিশ করিয়াছেন যে, জমিদারী প্রভৃতি মধ্যবর্ত্তী স্বত্বগুলি খাস করিবার পূর্ব্বেই প্রজাদের অত্যধিক খাজনার হ্রাস করিবার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। আর খাজনার কয়গুণ এবং কি অনুপাতে ক্ষতিপূরণ দিতে হইবে তৎসম্বন্ধে আমার মত এই যে, যাহারা সরল বিশ্বাসে জমিদারী তালুকদারী খরিদ করিয়াছেন তাহারাই কেবল খরচ বাদে নিট ন্যায্য খাজনার ১০ গুণ পাইতে পারিবেন। কিন্তু যে সকল জমিদার লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিসের সময়ে শুধু মুখের কথায় বিনা টাকায় বন্দোবস্ত পাইয়া জমিদারী স্বত্ব ভোগ করিয়া আসিতেছেন তাঁহারা ন্যায়ের চক্ষে কোনও ক্ষতিপূরণ পাইতে অধিকারী নহেন। অধিকন্তু তাঁহারা ন্যায় বিগর্হিত আইনের বলে পরগণা রেটের অপেক্ষা বহুগুণ খাজনা বাড়াইয়া প্রায় এক শতাব্দী যাবৎ যেভাবে প্রজাপীড়ন করিয়া অতিরিক্ত খাজনা আদায় করিয়া আসিতেছেন সেই অতিরিক্ত খাজনার টাকাই প্রজারা ফেরৎ পাইতে ন্যায়তঃ এবং ধর্ম্মতঃ অধিকারী। কমিশনও যদি এইরূপ মত প্রকাশ করিতেন তাহা হইলে হতভাগ্য প্রজাদের পক্ষে উচিত বিচার হইত। তবে এই পরাধীন দেশে এবং জমিদার প্রভাবান্বিত গভর্ণমেণ্টের অধীনে এইরূপ সুবিচার পাওয়া প্রজাদের পক্ষে অসম্ভব বলিয়া এবং ক্ষতিপূরণ না দিলে ভারত শাসন আইনানুসারে জমিদারী প্রথার উচ্ছেদ করা আপাততঃ অসম্ভব। সেইজন্য এই শেষোক্ত প্রকারের জমিদারদিগকে খরচ বাদে তাঁহাদের নিট ন্যায্য খাজনার পাচগুণ মাত্র ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া উচিত হইবে। বোম্বাই প্রদেশের কোন একজন বড় সংবাদপত্রলেখকও জমিদারগণকে নিট আয়ের পাঁচগুণ মাত্র ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়ার মত প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন।

কমিশন ইহাও বলিয়াছেন যে, জমিদারী তালুকদারী প্রভৃতি মধ্যবর্ত্তী স্বত্ব বর্ত্তমান থাকায় গভর্ণমেণ্ট প্রতি বৎসর ন্যূনাধিক ৮ কোটি টাকা রাজস্ব কম পাইতেছেন। যদি জমিদারী প্রথা উঠিয়া যায় তবে তাহাদের দেয় বার্ষিক রাজস্বের ২½ কোটি টাকার স্থলে ন্যূনাধিক ১০ কোটি টাকা রাজস্ব তাহাদের নিকট হইতে পাওয়া যাইবে। যদি এইরূপে গভর্ণমেণ্টের বার্ষিক আয় আরও আট কোটি টাকা বাড়িয়া যায় তাহা হইলে এই টাকা দ্বারা জমিদার এবং মধ্যস্বত্বাধিকারীদের ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকা আস্তে আস্তে সুদসহ ৬০ বৎসরে যে পরিশোধ করা যাইতে পারিবে তাহাতে কোন সন্দেহ নাই। এস্থলে ইহাও বলিতে চাই, অত্যধিক খাজনার নিরিখ কমাইবার ফলে খাস মহালের ৬৮ লক্ষ টাকা খাজনার মধ্যে যদি কয়েক লক্ষ টাকা কমিয়া যায়, এবং তাহাতে বাজেটে ঘাটতি পড়ে তাহা হইলে জমিদারগণের বনমহালের কাঠের আয় দ্বারা এবং জলমহালের মৎস্যের আয় দ্বারা সেই ক্ষতির টাকা পূরণ হইয়া যাওয়ার খুবই সম্ভাবনা আছে। বনমহালের কাঠের দ্বারা জমিদারগণ যে বার্ষিক লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা আয় করিয়া থাকেন তাহা একমাত্র জয়দেবপুরের মহারাজার আয়ের প্রতি দৃষ্টি করিলেই তাহা বুঝা যাইবে। আর জমিদারী প্রথা না উঠা পর্য্যন্ত জমিদারদের উপর কৃষি আয়কর স্থাপন করিলেও অত্যধিক খাজনার নিরিখ কমাইয়া দেওয়ার দরুণ খাস মহালের খাজনা বাবদ গভর্ণমেণ্টের তহবিলে যে টাকা কম পড়িবে তাহা অবাধে পূরণ হইয়া যাইবে। ভারপ্রাপ্ত মন্ত্রীমহোদয় ইহাও জানেন যে, কমিশনও এসম্বন্ধে সুপারিশ করিয়াছেন এবং বিহারে এসম্বন্ধে ইতিপূর্ব্বেই আইন হইয়া গিয়াছে। আর জমিদারী উঠিয়া যাওয়ার পর যখন সুষ্ঠুরূপে আইন প্রণয়ন

করা হইবে তখন গভর্ণমেণ্ট যে বর্ত্তমানের ৩ কোটি টাকার স্থলে ন্যূনাধিক ১০ কোটি টাকা রাজস্ব পাইবেন তাহা আমি পূর্ব্বেই বলিয়াছি। তাহা হইলে বাংলা দেশ যে অন্যান্য সকল প্রদেশ অপেক্ষা সমৃদ্ধিশালী হইতে পারিবে সে বিষয়ে আর কোন সন্দেহ নাই। ১৯৩৮-৩৯ সনের বাংলা সরকারের রাজস্ব বিষয়ক বার্ষিক রিপোর্ট পাঠে জানা যায় যে, জমিদারগণ তাহাদের রায়তের নিকট হইতে বার্ষিক ১৭ কোটি টাকার উপর খাজনা আদায় করিয়া থাকেন। ইহাতে দেখা যায় যে জমিদারী প্রথা উঠিয়া গেলে দুই দিক দিয়া দেশের মঙ্গল সাধিত হইবে। একদিকে অত্যধিক করভারাক্রান্ত রায়তদের প্রতি বৎসর ৬।৭ কোটি টাকা খাজনা কমিয়া গিয়া এই টাকা তাহাদের নিজের ঘরে থাকিয়া যাইবে। অপর দিকে গভর্ণমেণ্টের আয় বৃদ্ধি হইয়া বার্ষিক ৩ কোটি টাকার স্থলে প্রায় ১০ কোটি টাকা আয় হইবে। এই টাকা দিয়া গভর্ণমেণ্ট দেশের মহা-অনিষ্টকর জমিদারী প্রথা উঠাইয়া দিয়া কৃষির উন্নতি দ্বারা দেশকে সমৃদ্ধিশালী করিতে পারিবেন। আর একথাও সকলেই বুঝিতে পারেন যে, জমিদারী প্রথা তুলিয়া দিয়া পুনরায় সমগ্র দেশটাকে জরীপ করাইয়া জমি কচমওয়ারী করিয়া না লইলে সুষ্ঠুরূপে খাজনা-ধার্য্য করা অসম্ভব।

মোট কথা এই কৃষিপ্রধান বঙ্গদেশের অনশনগ্রস্ত কঙ্কালসার প্রজাগণের সর্ব্ব প্রকার উন্নতি করিতে হইলে জমিদারী প্রথাকে আর এক মুহূর্ত্তও জীবিত রাখা উচিত নয়। গত দেড় বৎসর ধরিয়া বাঙ্গালার অত্যাচারী জমিদারগণ নিরক্ষর নিঃসহায় প্রজাদের উপর জুলুম করিয়া যে পরিমাণ কলঙ্ক অর্জ্জন করিয়াছেন, আমার মনে হয় বঙ্গোপসাগরের সমুদয় জলরাশি কালীতে পরিণত হইলেও তাহা লিখিয়া শেষ করা যাইবে না। মোটের উপর জমিদারী প্রথা দেশের কল্যাণের পক্ষে এত বিষাক্ত হইয়াছে যে যত সত্বর ইহার অন্ত্যেষ্টিক্রিয়ার ব্যবস্থা করা যায়, ততই দেশের মঙ্গল।

কিন্তু জমিদারী প্রথা তুলিয়া দিবার পূর্ব্বে যদি প্রজাদের অত্যধিক খাজনার নিরিখ হ্রাস করা না যায় তাহা হইলে জমিদারী প্রথা তুলিয়া দেওয়া, খাল কাটিয়া বাড়ীতে কুমীর আনিবার মতই নিতান্ত নির্ব্বুদ্ধিতার কার্য্য হইবে। কারণ তাহা হইলে অত্যধিক করভারাক্রান্ত প্রজাগণ সার্টিফিকেটের দায়ে পড়িয়া অতি সত্বর ভিটা ছাড়া হইয়া যাইবে।

Mr. TARAKNATH MUKERJEA: Sir, I rise to oppose this resolution not merely because it aims at striking at the very root of the present Land Revenue system of the province but more particularly because I feel that the aims and objects of the measure are sure to prove truly detrimental to the interest of the people of all classes and creeds.

Sir, as one who claims to have a very close and most intimate knowledge of the actual situation in the rural areas of the province, especially in the West Bengal, extending over a period of about 25 years, I am fully convinced that this measure if given effect to will create a revolution in the social, economic and political structure of the whole Bengali community. The proposals, as embodied in the report, are based almost entirely on theoretical propositions and ideas, and it

bespeaks a colossal ignorance of the actual situation in the country at large. In fact, the report has based its conclusions merely on theoretical ideas and incorrect data without taking into account the actual condition now prevailing in the country. In fact, it is not an easy task to evolve such a new scheme by one stroke of the pen without taking into fullest account the actual and real state of affairs now prevailing in the different parts of the country. It may be a very easy task to bring about a complete annihilation of the landlords by expropriating their legitimate rights and titles, but it is many times a difficult task to evolve a scheme which may prove to be truly beneficial to the masses.

Sir, the Permanent Settlement has worked quite smoothly and harmoniously for well over a century and a half, and during these long 150 years this system has not only boldly withstood the onslaughts of the Legislature on successive occasions but it has also faced boldly and manfully, nobly, and faithfully all sorts of calamities—floods, famines, and the like. The deliberations of a Statutory Commission of a few selected or nominated members most of whom are either men of the town or foreigners with little or no knowledge of the actual conditions of the *raiyats* and the real state of affairs now prevailing in the rural areas of the province in the present day, can never be considered a competent authority to decide the future destiny of the whole nation. It requires a far more careful consideration of the real situation in all its aspects to evolve a scheme which will prove truly beneficial to the nation.

Sir, the Bengal Zamindars have played a most important part in shaping the present economic, social, and political conditions of the country. I cannot say with authority about the actual state of affairs in the East Bengal, but from my most accurate knowledge of West Bengal, I may say that most of the public institutions like the colleges, schools, madrassahs, *tols* and maktabs, charitible dispensaries, asylums for invalids and infirms and also public utility works like the construction of roads, bridges, embankments, irrigation channels, drinking-water tanks, etc., to a large extent owe their establishment and existence to the noble-minded and public spirited generosity of the landholders. As a true man of the rural area, as one who lives actually in the rural areas and with the rural people for over 100 days every year and as one who under a perpetual injunction—not legal—but a sacred injunction is precluded from being a citizen, i.e., a resident of the city of Calcutta—for generations yet to come, I am yet strongly of opinion that the agriculturist for obvious reasons will still prefer to remain a *raiyat* under a Zamindar than directly under the Government. (A VOICE FROM COALITION BENCHES: No, no.) You may say "No" my friend, but this is the actual state of affairs and I am sure that if an election is fought on this issue, you will be defeated. In fact, I am prepared to accept such a challenge, viz., to fight an election

on this issue. In a country where people are daily dying in thousands from malaria and other preventible diseases, where more and more lands are gradually getting fallow every year for want of proper irrigation facilities, where villages are getting more and more depopulated, where still a large number of people are daily dying without any proper medical treatment and where people are daily being enfeebled and emasculated due to poverty, sickness and starvation with the result that in the present time a very large percentage of the actual tillers of the soil are hired labourers coming from outside the province, this measure can hardly bring about the true salvation of the people. Such measures can hardly produce any ameliorating effect. In fact, it is a step which will throw the agriculturists from the frying pan into the fire. I am convinced that any such measure or any number of amendments to the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act and the Bengal Tenancy Act or the passing of the Primary or Secondary Education Act or the Marketing Act will hardly be able to bring about the real salvation to the rural people. It is rather unfortunate that while the Government is over-anxious to make a display of their anxiety to improve the lot of the masses, it has in reality hopelessly failed in its duty to deal with the situation in its proper lines. Really useful measures which are calculated to do real good to the people like the Burdwan-Hooghly-Howrah Flushing Scheme is being shelved from one date to another.

From the condition now prevailing in our part of the country I may say that the lot of the *raiyats* will not in any way improve even if they are completely exempted from the payment of any rent consecutively for 3 or 4 years to come. I am ready to accept a challenge to prove that in a selected area within my own zemindary. No lasting and real improvement can be achieved unless the physical condition of the people is improved, unless the people are free from malaria and unless the fertility and productivity of the lands are enriched. Let the popular Ministry rise equal to the occasion to achieve these ends. As a member of the smallest minority group in this House where out of 250 members we are only 5, I appeal to you, Sir, Mr. Deputy Speaker and through you to all the members of this House not only to my right or left but all around me, not to be carried away by emotions and sentiments but to pause for a while and seriously consider the actual situation in the country and the real state of affairs prevailing in the country before proceeding any further. Speaking on behalf of the landlords, I may say that the Zamindars are fully conscious of their present position, they are fully alive to their duties, clearly aware of their responsibilities and alert of their impending danger. The Zamindars are ready to rise equal to the occasion and to make any sacrifice if they are only convinced that thereby the true salvation of masses will be achieved.

Sir, I once again repeat that this proposal, which is based, as I have stated before, not on actual realities, will not be able to achieve the desired object of really improving the physical, economic and political conditions of the actual tillers of the soil which feed the whole nation. In short, it aims at having a measure which may be truly described as a well-designed product of Hitlerism and Leninism combined together which will create colossal chaos, social evolution and economical revolution in the country without doing any real good to those for whom it is intended.

Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: Sir, the question may now be put.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It was decided that opportunity should be given to the side on my left

Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: Sir, there has been sufficient discussion on this resolution and we have yet to discuss other important resolutions. There may not be quorum after the prayer adjournment

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I do not think, there will be no quorum.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: Sir, I would first refer to the terms of the Resolution itself which has been brought forward by my friend on the Coalition side The Resolution wants to give effect to the recommendations of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission with necessary modifications for the replacement of the Permanent Settlement and the zamindary system by a *raiyatwari* method by legislation. Sir, I do not know what my Coalition friend means by this Resolution. What recommendations the Land Revenue Commission has made, I have not been able to make out from a perusal of the whole of the two volumes which have been printed in broad type If there be any recommendations, they are 3 or 4 in number which have been mentioned there. Sir, I would like to make some observations on the first recommendation. Now, Sir, let me first comment on the composition of the Commission itself. We from the Praja Party on behalf of the tenants objected to the constitution of the Commission because in that Commission, the majority were from the landholders' side. Let us see what a Zamindar member of the Commission himself said about the constitution of the Commission. The Maharaja of Burdwan said that that Commission was composed of a Praja majority. This shows that there was no mutual understanding amongst the members of the Commission itself. The Maharaja of Burdwan then said—"It was quite clear that these appointments were primarily made on political grounds resulting in an undue weightage which was, to a great extent, responsible for the so-called Majority Report. Without any knowledge as

to what these gentlemen were like"—Sir, these gentlemen of the Commission were not even known to the Maharaja of Burdwan. He then goes on to say—"or without casting any reflection on any of them we had to record our protest on principle" and so on. Sir, this is the remark of the biggest Zamindar of Bengal. He does not recognise even the members of the Commission as properly representing or having proper qualifications to be members of the Commission. Sir, if we continue to read the report of the Maharaja, we can come to know his idea about the zamindary system. He says that the Zamindars were there in Bengal before the time of the Moghul Emperors. Now Maharaja Todar Mall has not made any record of lands in Bengal and these records were made very, very long ago. Sir, I am very sorry for the knowledge of the Maharaja of Burdwan about the whole Province of Bengal. If he would have taken the trouble of going to North Bengal, he would have found the zamindaries of Kamrup and recently of Cooch Behar. What were the conditions of Zamindars there? Even in the Collectorate there are records about them which are known as Panchasena records. There we find recorded that Zamindars were mere collectors of rent appointed for 5 years they were paid remuneration as commission which did not exceed even Rs. 10 per cent. In North Bengal, there were the Zamindars of Tushbhander who, the rumour goes, supplied husk to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. Then about the Pathaghat zamindary of Maharaja Prodyut Kumar Tagore, it is said that this zamindary was received as a grant from the Maharaja of Cooch Behar by supplying *patals* to the said Maharaja, and there are rumours of this kind about other zamindaries also. There were Zamindars who were mere petty clerks and tahsildars of bigger Zamindars. So, this is the origin of Zamindars here and this origin was not taken into consideration when this Commission framed their recommendations.

Now, I find, my Coalition friends are very jubilant over the recommendation that the zamindary system is going very soon and they think that this will go within the tenure of their membership of this Assembly. My dear friends, that is an impossible task. This can never be accomplished by evolution or by making legislation. If you want to do away with this system, something greater, something more fundamental must be done. My friends and specially one friend of my community—I mean, Mr. Anukul Chandra Das—has gone to the Punjab and he knows more about it.

Now, Sir, the Commission travelled over the whole of India and some members of the Commission went over to England, but no member of the Commission has ever dared to go to Bolshevic Russia personally to see the state of things there. If they want to find out what real and effective steps should be taken in this direction, they must go there, otherwise they will not understand what steps should

be taken to do away with Zemindars, tenure-holders and sub-tenure-holders, and bring relief to the actual tillers of the soil. There, Sir, it was possible not by evolution or by legislation of any kind but by revolution. It is by this means only that you can remove the vested interests. Sir, we must remember that this problem is not like the problem of Secondary Education or that of the provision of Agricultural Marketing facilities. There are several things that must be removed before this problem can be solved. We must always remember that Permanent Settlement has got its root deep into the soil of Bengal.

Now, what are the recommendations of the Commission? One of the recommendations is to the effect that compensation is to be paid to the owners of the soil or somebody else But who will pay the compensation? Now, it has been estimated with the help of statistics by the Land Revenue Commission that a sum of Rs. 98 crores or something like that will be required to acquire all the lands of Bengal. Now, who will pay this huge sum as compensation? The agriculturist will have to pay a certain amount of compensation money Otherwise the statistics given by the Commission will be of no avail If the agriculturists are to pay this compensation (Cries of "no," "no") . Yes, they will have to pay in the shape of agricultural income-tax, as there is bound to be some deficit under that head. They will have to pay this amount with interest But what benefit will they get out of it? They will not get the benefit for which they have all along been clamouring, i e , the reduction of rent. There is no mention in the report about any reduction of rent If you have to pay part of the compensation money without getting the benefit of a reduction in rent, the result of the recommendation of this Commission will be something like a horse's egg. We are living in the heaven of Court of Wards, and every moment we are feeling the pinch of living in *khas mahals*. Although Zamindars had been claiming that they have done a lot for the tenants, I can say from my experience of the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri where the Maharaja of Cossimbazar has extensive zamindary, that there is not a single High School which the Maharaja maintains (cries of "shame", "shame"). But there are other Zamindars also who have not paid a single farthing in return for the rent they received from the tenants. God save us from these oppressive Zamindars and God save us from the clutches of the *Khas Mahal* Officers. To abolish the Permanent Settlement is not a very easy thing. You will have to satisfy some of your white masters before that can be done. These vested interests cannot be easily removed. They should be removed by stronger means.

Mr. ASIMUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমার বন্ধু মিঞা আব্দুল হাফিজ সাহেব যে প্রস্তাব আনয়ন করিয়াছেন, সেটা বাংলার কৃষক সমাজের পক্ষে অত্যন্ত মূল্যবান প্রস্তাব। এই প্রস্তাব সম্বন্ধে ৪০/৫০ বৎসর যাবৎ বাংলার

কৃষকগণ নানাপ্রকার আন্দোলন কোরে ও বহু সভাসমিতি কোরে আসছে। তা ছাড়া বই পুস্তকের ভিতর দিয়ে, এবং খবরের কাগজের ভিতর দিয়েও এই জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদের দাবি কোরে আসছে। কিন্তু আমার বন্ধু হাফিজ সাহেব আজ হাউসের সামনে যে প্রস্তাবটা উপস্থিত কোরেছেন, এটা বাস্তবিকপক্ষে অসম্পূর্ণ, অস্পষ্ট এবং অনির্দ্দিষ্ট। এ প্রস্তাবটা আরো ব্যাপকভাবে ও নির্দ্দিষ্টভাবে হওয়া উচিত ছিলো। এই প্রস্তাবে ভূমিরাজস্ব কি রকম হবে, একটা জমিদারকে উঠিয়ে আর একটা কর্ম্মচারী বা অন্য রকম ভূমি ব্যবস্থার অধীনে রায়ৎ হবার প্রস্তাব করা হোয়েছে কিনা, কিছুই স্পষ্ট কোরে বোঝা যায় না। জানিনা এই প্রস্তাবের দ্বারা প্রস্তাবক বাংলার কৃষক প্রজাদের কি কোরতে চান? আমার বন্ধু মাত্র বোলেছেন যে কমিশনের রিপোর্টটা সংশোধন কোরে জমিদারদের গুপ্তচর যারা তারা তো হাসবেনই। আমরা জমিদারী তুলে দিয়ে রায়তওয়ারী সিষ্টেম চাই না। আমরা বাংলার কৃষক প্রজারা চাই—একটা নির্দ্দিষ্ট সর্ব্বনিম্ন কৃষি আয়ের উপর, রাজস্বের বদলে গ্রেজুয়েটেড আয়কর ধার্য্য করা, এবং কমিশনের সুপারিশ মত জমিদারদের আর্থিক ক্ষতিপূরণ দেবার পরিবর্ত্তে অবিলম্বে সরকার কর্ত্তৃক অনুষ্ঠিত জাতিগঠনমূলক জাতীয় শিল্প পরিকল্পনায় জমিদারদের চাকরী দেওয়ার বন্দোবস্ত করা অথবা একটা ডিবেঞ্চার দেওয়া হউক। বর্গা এবং ভাগচাষী বা বর্গাদারদিগকে সাধারণ পরিকল্পনায় ধরা হউক এবং তাহাদিগের জমিতে প্রকৃত স্বত্ব দেওয়া হউক।

Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমার বন্ধু যে প্রস্তাব কোরেছেন, সে প্রস্তাবকে আমরা বাস্তবিক আনন্দে গ্রহণ করতাম যদি তাতে আমাদের উল্লিখিত বিষয়গুলির স্পষ্ট উল্লেখ দেখতাম। তিনি কমিশনের রিপোর্ট গ্রহণের কথা বোলেছেন। কমিশনের রিপোর্টে যে ক্ষতি-পূরণের ব্যবস্থা করা হোয়েছে উহা বাংলার কৃষক প্রজারা এখন দিতে অক্ষম। জমিদারী উঠে গেলে জমিদারদের কি অবস্থা হবে সেই প্রসঙ্গেই কমিশন জমিদারদের ক্ষতিপূরণ করার কথা বোলেছেন। সেটা সমাধানের সম্বন্ধে আমার বন্ধুর প্রস্তাবে কিছুই দেখা যাচ্ছে না। আমাদের কথা এই যে এই ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকা জমিদাররা নিলে আলস্যে দিন কাটাবেন এবং দীর্ঘ কাল সে টাকা থাকবে না। সেই জন্য যদি জাতিগঠনমূলক শিল্প পরিকল্পনা দ্বারা সেই ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকার পরিবর্ত্তে শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠানের আয়ের একটা অংশ জমিদারদিগকে দেওয়া হয়—অথবা তাহাতে চাকরী দিয়ে তাঁদের সন্তান সন্ততিদের প্রতি-পালনের ব্যবস্থা হয় তাহা হইলে দেশের লোকেরও উপকার হবে এবং জমিদারদেরও টাকা পেতে কিছু বাধা হবে না। আমার বন্ধুর এই প্রস্তাব এই ভাবে Assembly তে না এনে Coalition Partyর মেম্বারদের Party meetingএ রাজস্ব কমিশনের রিপোর্টকে আবশ্যক মতন সংশোধন কোরে কার্য্যকরী করবার জন্য একটা প্রস্তাব পাশ করা উচিত ছিল। আমি জানি না—আমার বন্ধুর এই ব্যাপারটীতে কি রকম seriousness বা কতটুকু ঐকান্তিকতা আছে।

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 20 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. ASIMUDDIN AHMED: মাননীয় সভাপতি সাহেব, এই প্রস্তাব যখন এ সভায় উত্থাপন করেছিলেন তখন আমাদের Party থেকে একটা সংশোধনী প্রস্তাবের

notice দিয়েছিলাম। দুর্ভাগ্যবশতঃ মাননীয় স্পীকার সাহেব ঐ প্রস্তাবটী scopeএর অন্তর্ভুক্ত নয় বলে আমাদিগকে উত্থাপন করতে দেন নাই। সেই প্রস্তাবের যা মর্ম্ম ছিল তা পূর্ব্বেই বোলেছি এখন আমি অল্প কয়েকটি কথা বোলেই শেষ করবো। আমি বোল্‌তে চাই যে আমার বন্ধু যদি বাস্তবিক কমিশনের report সংশোধন করে এবং পারমানেণ্ট সেটেল্‌মেণ্ট উঠিয়ে দিয়ে অন্য একটা Land system বা settlement এর জন্য খুব আগ্রহান্বিত হোয়ে থাকেন, তবে আমার মনে হয় প্রস্তাবটা এই রকম ভাবে না কোরে This Assembly is of opinion that step may be taken না বলে step immediately be taken বলতেন তবে তাঁহার যে এই বিষয়টীর প্রতি ঐকান্তিকতা আছে তাহা বুঝিতাম কিন্তু তিনি তাহাও জোর করিয়া বলিতে সাহস করেন নাই। আমার মনে হয় এই রকম প্রস্তাব করার মানে একটা ব্যক্তি বিশেষ বা একটা দলবিশেষকে জনসমাজে বা কৃষক সমাজে popular করার জন্য অথবা ভোটের সুবিধা করার জন্যই ইহা করা হয়েছে। প্রকৃত প্রস্তাবে এতে কোন আন্তরিকতা আছে বলে আমার মনে হয় না। বাস্তবিকপক্ষে আমার বন্ধু যদি কৃষক প্রজাদের জন্য একটা ভাল ব্যবস্থা করতে চাইতেন এবং জমিদারের প্রতিও একটা সদ্বিবেচনা করতেন তাহলে বুঝতাম যে তার আন্তরিকতা আছে। কিন্তু এই প্রস্তাবটী এত অসম্পূর্ণ ও অনির্দ্দিষ্ট যে ইহা হইতে কিছুই বুঝবার উপায় নাই। কাজেই আমরা পরিষ্কার বোল্‌ছি—পারমানেণ্ট সেটেল্‌মেণ্ট উঠিয়ে আর একটা কর্ম্মচারী system এর অধিনে নির্য্যাতন ও নিপীড়ন ভোগ করতে চাই না। জমিদারী প্রথার abolition আমরা চাই, কিন্তু তার স্থানে আর একটা নূতন আকারের জমিদারী শাসন আমরা চাই না। তারপর জমিদারদের যদি উঠিয়ে দিতে হয় তাহলে তাদের প্রতিপালনের ভার গভর্ণমেণ্টকেই কোরতে হবে, সেটা যদি গভর্ণমেণ্ট করেন তাহলে কারোই কোন আপত্তি থাকে না। কিন্তু সেটা ক্ষতিপূরণ দিয়ে নয়, আমি যে শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠানের কথা বোলেছি তারি ভিতর দিয়ে কোরতে হবে।

কৃষকদের উপর যদি খাজনা নির্দ্দেশ করা হয় তাহলে কিছুই লাভ হবে না। সভাপতি সাহেব, Permanent Settlement যখন Lord Cornwallis প্রবর্ত্তন করেন, তখন থেকে জমিদারদের যে খাজনা গভর্ণমেণ্টকে দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা ছিলো, আজও তার কিছুই পরিবর্ত্তন হয় নাই। দুই কোটি আটাশ লক্ষ কি ত্রিশ লক্ষ টাকা মাত্র বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টকে তাঁরা রাজস্ব দেন। এই টাকাটা বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি নাও পান তাহলে যে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কোন ক্ষতি হবে, বা গভর্ণমেন্ট অচল হবে তা আমি বিশ্বাস করি না। বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টের যা নাকি অভাব সে হইতেছে বহু কোটি টাকার অভাব। দু কোটী আটাশ কি ত্রিশ লক্ষ টাকার অভাব নয়। বাস্তবিক যদি ক্ষতিপূরণই কোরতে হয় তাহলে বহু কোটি টাকা আয়ের ব্যবস্থা এই গবর্ণমেন্টকে কোরতে হবে। এবং সেরূপ আয় করবার পন্থাও আছে। যদি সে পন্থা গভর্ণমেণ্ট গ্রহণ কোরতে চান, তাহলে সেরূপ বুদ্ধি দেবার লোক যথেষ্ট সংখ্যায় এই বাংলা দেশে আছে।

সভাপতি সাহেব, আমার বন্ধু আব্দুল হাফিজ সাহেব খাজনা কমাবার কথা বোলেছেন। যদি তাদের খাজনা অর্দ্ধেকও কমান হয় কৃষকদের তাতে কিছুই উপকার হবে না।

কৃষকদের অভাব শতকরা ৫০ টাকা বা ৫৫ টাকার নয়, তাদের আজ বহু টাকার অভাব অনাটন হোয়েছে, এবং সে জন্য এই land system কেই সম্পূর্ণরূপে পরিবর্ত্তন করা দরকার। এবং এটাকে সম্পূর্ণরূপে পরিবর্ত্তন কোরে তাদের আয়ের উপর খাজনার ব্যবস্থা না করে যেমন মুসলমান রাজত্বে খেরাজ ও ওসর ব্যবস্থা ছিলো। বর্ত্তমানে যেমন বিধান আছে কৃষকদের শষ্য উৎপন্ন হোক বা না হোক জমির খাজনা যোগাইতেই হবে। এ বৎসর যে ভাবে অনাবৃষ্টির জন্য ফসল হোচ্চে না, দেশের প্রচলিত আইনে তাতে খাজনা পাইতে কোনই বাধা নাই। কাজেই আমার বন্ধুর প্রস্তাব মত কমিশনের রিপোর্টটা modify কোরে গ্রহণ কোরলে কৃষকদের যে কি উপকার হবে—আমি তো তা আদৌ বুঝতে পারছি না। (A member of the Coalition party : আপনার কথা কি ?) আমার যা কথা তা আগেই বোলেছি, কৃষকদের আয়ের উপর একটা নিম্নতম অংশ খাজনা বা রাজস্বের পরিবর্ত্তে নেওয়া।

এখন উপসংহারে আমার কথা হোচ্চে এই কমিশনের রিপোর্টের উপর যাদের বিশ্বাস আছে তাদের আমি বোলতে চাই,—বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টের লাইব্রেরী অনুসন্ধান করুন, দেখতে পাবেন বহু তদন্ত কমিটির বা কমিশনের রিপোর্ট পোকা কাটা হোয়ে পড়ে আছে। তার অধিকাংশই কার্য্যকরী হয় নাই। কত সব Enquiry Committee বা তদন্ত কমিটি যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট কোরেছেন তার ইয়ত্তা নাই, তার দুচারটিও কার্য্যকরী কোরেছেন বোলে গভর্ণমেণ্ট বোলতে পারবেন না। কাজেই এ কমিশনের রিপোর্ট যে কার্য্যকরী হবে সে বিশ্বাস আমার বন্ধুরা যেন না করেন। আমার দৃঢ় ধারণা এই যে প্রজারা যে দিন অভাব অনাটন ও নির্য্যাতনে নিষ্পেষিত হোয়ে, এবং অনাহারে মর মর হোয়ে দেশময় বিপ্লব আনয়ন কোরবে,—সেই বিপ্লব গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বাধ্য কোরবে এই সমস্ত land system abolish কোরতে নতুবা বক্তৃতা দ্বারা বা এই রকম Resolutionএর দ্বারা এ সকলের পরিবর্ত্তন আনা যাবে না—এ কথা আমরা বেশ বুঝেছি।

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Sir, the question may now be put.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I should bring this matter to a close now, but it is only fair that I should give one minute's time to one member. His speech will not take more than one minute.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD AMIR ALI MIA: মাননীয় স্পীকার সাহেব, আমরা দেশের গরীব লোকের প্রতিনিধি ও প্রজা গভর্ণমেণ্টের পরিচালক। আমি আজ আমাদের এই গভর্ণমেণ্টকে অনুরোধ করিতেছি যে, রেণ্ট রেভিনিউ কমিশন যখন রিপোর্ট দাখিল করিয়াছেন তখন প্রজাদের রেণ্ট অর্থাৎ জমির খাজনা যাহাতে প্রতি বিঘা, চারি আনা, ছয় আনা ও আট আনা জমির ভাল মন্দ তারতম্য অনুসারে করা হউক। পারমানেণ্ট সেটেলমেণ্ট তুলিয়া দিয়া জমি সকল খাস করিয়া সামান্য খাজনায় প্রজাদিগকে পুনরায় বন্দোবস্ত দিয়া তাহাদিগকে কোন একটা নির্দ্দিষ্ট স্থানে যাইয়া খাজনা দাখিল করার জন্য, অথবা মনিঅর্ডারযোগে

খাজনার টাকা পাঠাইবার জন্য নির্দ্দেশ দেওয়া হউক। কম খাজনা হইলে প্রজাগণ উহা প্রতি সন পরিশোধ করিতে দ্বিধা করিবে না। যুদ্ধের অজুহাতে এবার যদি প্রজাদের খাজনার হার প্রজাদরদী প্রজা মেম্বরগণের চেষ্টায় না হয়, তাহা হইলে ভবিষ্যতে খাজনা যাহাতে আর কমান না যাইতে পারে তাহার জন্য জমিদারদের চেষ্টায় এবং তাহাদেরই নানা রকম সাহায্যে উকিল, মোক্তার, ডাক্তার, ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের প্রেসিডেণ্ট, নায়েব, গোমস্তা এবং স্কুলের কতকগুলি ছাত্রদের দ্বারা হৈ চৈ করাইয়া যাহাতে প্রজাদের ভোটে প্রজাদের মধ্য হইতেই প্রকৃত প্রজা প্রতিনিধি আগামী ইলেক্শনে নির্ব্বাচিত না হইতে পারে তাহার ষড়যন্ত্র এখন হইতেই হইতেছে। সুতরাং আমার অনুরোধ গভর্ণমেণ্ট শীঘ্রই প্রজার খাজনা কমাইবার ব্যবস্থা করুণ, ইহাই আমার প্রস্তাব। আর আমাদের রাজসাহীতে বর্ত্তমানে পাট প্রতিমণ ৩৲ তিন টাকা ও ৩।।০ সাড়ে তিন টাকা দরে বিক্রয় হইতেছে। পাটের দর ১০৲ দশ টাকার অধিক যাহাতে হয় এবং প্রজারা ইচ্ছামত পাট বুনান করিতে পারে এবং পাটের উপর যেন কোন প্রকার ট্যাক্স ধার্য্য না হয় ইহাই আমার প্রস্তাব—আমিন শুম্মা আমিন।

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Before replying to the original resolution I desire to say a few words for refuting some of the loose observations, vague insinuations and unwarranted assertion made by Mr. Jalaluddin Hashemy, the mover of the amendment. Two points urged by Mr. Hashemy are:—

(1) that there was no earthly reason for appointing another officer to examine the Report of the Commission and in his opinion this tactics had been adopted by Government only for shelving the Report;

(2) that Government are afraid to give effect to the recommendations in view of the international situation and because the interests of certain British zemindary concerns are involved.

As regards the first point of Mr. Hashemy I would reserve my remarks at present and shall deal with it later on. About the second point I can assure him and the House that Government yield to none in their anxiety to bring about an improvement in agriculture of the province and in the lot of the agriculturists. As the recommendations have been made on the ground of agricultural improvement and in the opinion of the Commission these are the most effective methods for bringing about that improvement Government will not hesitate to take necessary steps for the attainment of that goal with due regard to the financial, economic and administrative aspects of the recommendations. I am, however, glad to find that in spite of his suspicion of all actions of Government and as he has himself said, though he and persons of his line of thinking protested against the appointment of Sir Francis Floud as Chairman of the Commission, the Report have met with the approval of the people of Bengal. Sir, it is a pity that Mr. Hashemy anxious as he is to condemn Government not merely for

their acts of omission and commission but also in anticipation of Government's attitude and policy towards the recommendations of the Commission he has not the fairness to give them credit for the proper constitution of the Commission or for their bold policy in appointing it to enquire into a problem touching the life of nearly 80 per cent. of people of this Province. On his own admission the policy adopted by Government was right and his apprehensions were absolutely unfounded.

Sir, I will next turn to the observations made by my friend Mr. Bankim Chandra Mukherjee. I offer him by sincerest congratulations on his magnificent speech on this resolution. As a piece of oratory it was superb and probably had a very few parallel in this House; but I wish I could say the same thing about his logic and arguments. Mr. Mukherjee, however, has approached the question from his point of view which is fundamentally different from that of many of us, viz., that the economic salvation of the Bengal peasantry can be achieved only through revolution and not evolution. Here I am afraid I agree to differ with him. Mr. Mukherjee in course of his speech tried to make out that the Commission merely suggested substitution of one class of landlord by another without any regard to the interest of the tiller of the soil and nothing short of complete expropriation of the existing landlords will bring about that Utopia in Bengal which Mr. Mukherjee visualises in his imagination. First of all let me tell him without fear of contradiction that he has misread and misunderstood the recommendations of the Commission and its terms of reference because he also suggested that in the terms of reference there was no mention of the tiller. Sir, the Commission's recommendations are for buying out all grades of rent-receivers and to bring the tiller of the soil directly under Government.

I presume that the honourable members of this House have carefully studied the Report of the Commission and have fully realised the implications of the recommendations. But in view of the importance of the subject and the far-reaching consequence of the recommendations I hope the House will pardon me if I take the liberty of reiterating some of the principal suggestions and try to explain them so that the House may appreciate their importance and the complicated nature of the subject.

The main recommendation is to acquire all rent-receiving interests above the actual cultivator. The Commission decided by a majority that in the first instance the acquisition of all superior rights down to the lowest grade of cash paying under-raiyats should be proceeded with. At a subsequent stage the interests of the landlords who have let out their lands on *barga* system should also be acquired after tenancy rights are conferred on the *bargadars* and their produce rents are commuted to cash rent.

This recommendation is of a very far-reaching character. Others are more or less ancillary to it. Any decision of Government regarding the State purchase must be taken as a whole and it is neither possible nor desirable to treat them piecemeal, because the purpose of State purchase is to bring the tiller of the soil directly under Government. The question of State purchase of all rent receiving interests has several aspects, viz., financial, social, economic and administrative. All these aspects require examination in detail. In the absence of facts regarding some of the most complicated problems it is difficult for Government to come to an immediate decision on the main recommendation. By way of illustration I may mention that while the recommendation is for State purchase of all rent-receiving interests including those of under-*raiyats* of the lowest degree if they are rent receivers and the interests of those who let out their land under *barga* system the calculation of the cost is based on the acquisition of rayati interests only.

According to Commission's estimate the net annual increase of revenue is expected to be 223 lakhs if compensation be paid at 10 times the net income; 147 lakhs if compensation be paid at 12 times the net income; and 33 lakhs if compensation be paid at 15 times the net income. It is incumbent on Government to be satisfied definitely whether this increase of the revenue will actually materialise or not after taking into consideration all the heads on which loss is likely to occur including the loss on account of compensation to wakf, debattor and other trust estates at 25 times the net income as recommended by the Commission, the loss on stamp revenue under a *raiyatwari* system, the loss on account of the acquisition of the lowest grade of cash paying under-*raiyats* and the loss on account of landlords' share of education cess. If the *bargadars* are given the right of *raiyat* and the rent receiving interests of their landlords be acquired even on payment of compensation at ten times the net income, a very large amount would be necessary, and this may outbalance largely the expected increase in revenue. Thus the financial aspect of the recommendations require a careful scrutiny before Government can arrive at any conclusion as regards the financial implications of the recommendations.

The scheme of State purchase is based on the principle of partial expropriation of the assets of all grades of persons interested in land; but what the extent of expropriation should be has to be very carefully worked out with reference to its repercussions on the social and economic condition of the country.

From this the House will realise the magnitude of the problem, the enormous number of people who will be affected by this scheme and large number of interests that will have to be acquired. Machinery for acquisition of rent receiving interests is also one of the most

important items in the scheme of State purchase. The constitution of the tribunal must inspire public confidence. It should be able to decide the question of compensation according to certain principle to be laid down by Government and uninfluenced by extraneous considerations. In the processes of acquisition various questions of title will arise and the method of awarding compensation will have to be settled. Whether the acquisition should be on the principle of the Land Acquisition Act or any other basis is also one of the important questions which must be settled by Government.

Other subsidiary questions which Government have to deal with in connection with the proposal are:—

(1) Whether the compensation should be paid in cash or in bond?

(2) Whether the acquisition should be first started in a limited area as recommended by the Commission or it should be all over the province?

(3) Provision will have to be made for preventing attachment of the compensation awarded to indebted proprietors so that they might not be completely deprived of their assets.

(4) Another important and a rather complicated question on which Government must make up their mind is whether after acquisition the high rate of rent payable by the tenants of under-*raiyats* and by the *bargadars* should be allowed to continue or they should be reduced to an equitable level. If the rate is reduced which is practicalty unavoidable, Government must find out what would be the effect of such a reduction on the revenues of the State.

Government have appointed an experienced member of the Indian Civil Service as Special Officer to examine the recommendations of the Commission in all its aspects and to make concrete suggestions to meet the difficulties and complications that might arise in giving effect to the Commission's recommendations.

With a view to ascertain what interests will be actually affected by State acquisition of the different grades of rent receivers its repercussions on the social system of the Province, the Special Officer has been asked to undertake an enquiry into some of the estates in different districts so that Government might find out the actual implications of the proposal. The Special Officer has made substantial progress in his work; but it is likely to take him to the end of the year to complete the investigation. Government in order to expedite the examination have decided to consider the suggestions of the Special Officer in compartments and examination of the various questions by the Special Officer and consideration of his suggestions by Government are proceeding simultaneously.

I hope, I have now succeeded in explaining to the House in short the principal recommendations in the Land Revenue Commission Report, the far-reaching nature of the proposals and the enormous complications they involve. However much one may like to translate into action the suggestions of the Commission within the shortest time, I am afraid, it will neither be possible nor desirable to do so without giving due consideration to all the aspects of the problem, and without providing solution for the difficulties that might arise. I have no doubt that undue haste in the matter will instead of helping the progress of the examination rather hamper it and the conclusions arrived at on a hasty examination will naturally be undependable and may lead to a disastrous consequence. If Government try to come to a decision on facts ascertained without proper testing or to conclusions inferred from premises which have not been adequately examined they will run the risk of jeopardising the whole scheme in the long run. Before coming to a final decision in the matter which is of such a far reaching consequence and affects the life of over 80 per cent. of the people of this Province Government will have to take into consideration public opinion on the recommendations of the Commission and consult the views of honourable members of the Legislature. It is therefore absurd to suggest that the recommendations should be accepted *in toto* or might be given effect to immediately without a careful scrutiny.

Government want to build a magnificent edifice on a solid foundation and they have consulted architects as regards the plan and estimate. The Commission as architects in this case have submitted their recommendations on these points. It is now for Government to have the plan and the estimates properly checked by their permanent staff and to be satisfied that the recommendations are according to Government specifications. When they have done so Government should proceed expeditiously but cautiously. Before construction of the building they must have the soil properly tested and provide suitable foundation for an edifice which will endure for a long time to come, will add to the happiness and comfort of its inmates and will prove pleasing to the eye of the public. Any undue haste in building the foundation or perfunctory checking of the estimate and the plan might affect the estimate and the plan might affect the stability of the edifice and its suitability for the purpose for which it will be built. I hope the House will realise the danger of hasty action in a matter like this and will have patience and confidence in Government that are determined to see that improvement in the economic condition of the agriculturists of this Province is brought about as early as possible and are anxious to take fullest advantage of the recommendations of the land Revenue Commission.

With these few words, Sir, I would request my honourable friend, the mover of the resolution——

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, he has given us the hope of building an edifice.

Mr. SPEAKER: On a momentous debate like this, I think, the Hon'ble Minister should be allowed to finish uninterrupted.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, Government do not take this matter so lightly as my friend, the leader of the Krishak Praja party, does. Government appointed this Commission to go into the whole problem and a momentous report has been submitted to them and they have applied their mind and energy to examining the recommendations of the Commission with a view to give effect to them as early as possible and as best as possible. I hope my friend will not treat this matter with levity as he usually does.

Sir, before I sit down, I would again request my friend, the mover of the resolution, to withdraw his motion.

The motion of Mr Mirza Abdul Hafiz that: this Assembly is of opinion that steps may be taken to give effect to the recommendations of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission with necessary modifications for replacement of the Permanent Settlement and the zamindary system by a *raiyatwari* method by legislation, was then, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Mr. SPEAKER: Naturally the amendment falls through.

Election of members to the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is one matter which I would just like to announce. Honourable members are aware that a ballot took place for election of members to the Public Accounts Committee on the 30th July last. Owing to pressure of work we could not get it calculated so long. We have now calculated it and the following are the names of those elected to the Public Accounts Committee:—

(1) Mr. R. M. Sassoon,

(2) Rai Harendra Nath Choudhuri,

(3) Mr Madhusudan Sarker,

(4) Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdur Rahman,

(5) Mr. Abdulla-Al Mahmood,

(6) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,

(7) Babu Premhari Barma, and

(8) Maulvi Jonab Ali Majumdar.

The Committee will consist of these eight members and the Hon'ble the Finance Minister as an *ex-officio* member.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. M. FARHAD RAZA CHOWDHURY: Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly is of opinion that the Government of Bengal should take immediate action for the omission of all references to the alleged Black Hole Tragedy from all books in use in the province of Bengal, such as text-books of all educational institutions as well as other books used by the public in general.

Sir, in 1848, Lord Ellenborough, the then Viceroy, stated: "I cannot close my eyes to the belief that this race (Mussalman) is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus". In 1868, Sir W. W. Hunter wrote: "After the Mutiny the British turned upon the Mussalmans as their real enemies". Not long ago, a scholarly man and a clergy, Father Mitchel, observed: "To ask a Mussalman to be civilised is to ask him not to be a Mussalman at all".

Sir, the Holwell Monument is but an expression in marble of these very unedifying thoughts. It stands as the symbol of the Englishman's cherished ill-will against the Muslim. I plead earnestly for a change of outlook, for the dawning of a sweeter sentiment on our diplomatic horizon. It is from this point of view that I plead for the removal of this wedge of ill-will at a time when England and India should draw in closer, when in fact the world over the supreme need of mankind is felt to be a right reordering of human relations between different nationals. The Government is therefore to be congratulated on their decision to remove the edifice which has been the eyesore of the people of this country, especially of this province. In the India of to-day it has no use whatever as an exhibit of enemy mentality. If the Black-hole Monument had to be there as a visible testimony to Muslim barbarism, the Muslim as well could rake up reminiscences, much less fanciful and no less atrocious, of sufferings at the hands of the Englishmen of those days. But both of us have outlived that time and must have the spirit that is required to-day of standing side by side in fighting for the reorientation of a new world-order.

Sir, the two peoples no longer need to be reminded of their position as contending conquerors of India. Let the Muslim of India have a cordial feeling for the Englishman, who has followed him here in obedience to the same providential plan that had started centuries ago with the Aryans, or rather the Dravidian conquest of this country. That crude process of conquest for widening the base of Indian nationalism has been, we believe, complete some time ago, and the hour has come for the performance of the finer phase of the great task. It is time, indeed high time, where mutual good-will might be more profitably pressed into the service of evolving a larger nationalism in India

and of humanity at large. And let nothing stand between the Englishman and the Muslim, just as the Muslim and the Hindu, that may keep them apart, that may set back the great task at hand.

Sir, much has been said on the floor of this House about this wretched Holwell Monument. My resolution aims at omission of all references to the so-called "Black Hole" tragedy from all text-books and books of history. All modern historians have proved the absurdity of such an occurrence which was deliberately fabricated by British chroniclers with the sole and avowed aim of darkening the pages of history of Indian rule in order to paint the characters of our rulers as barbarous and to show them off to posterity as tyrants. This was done with the intention of perpetuating and consolidating British Sovereignty in India. Sir, whatever may be said of the ethics of such a fraud perpetrated solely for diplomatic reasons I would point out that it no longer can delude us into the belief which our British Masters would force us into, because the hollowness and baseness of such charges have been proved by eminent historians of to-day. It is therefore in the fitness of things that when we have attained a measure of self-government, one of our first actions should be to remove the calumnies falsely attributed to the good name of our independent rulers, and thus prevent the future generation from being misled by such false references to an incident which is the outcome of the imagination of British political propagandists no less fertile than that of Dr. Goebbel's. For this reason it is necessary that the story of the Black Hole tragedy must be struck out of the pages of history.

Sir, as I have said modern research has conclusively proved the falsehood of the story and exposed the absurdity of the whole incident. It may be recalled that the pioneer of this research was the late renowned Akshoy Kumar Maitra. And late Mr. Mujibur Rahman's handbook on the mystery of the Black Hole tragedy is an excellent compilation of a good many documents that substantially and conclusively disprove the alleged occurrence of the tragedy. And inasmuch as it stands to overshadow the great future of the relation between India and England, the Holwell Monument should disappear at once from its site and books on Indian history should be free from reference to the concocted tragedy in its current form thereby clearing the atmosphere of mutual hatred and leaving the mind of the two peoples free to respond to nobler reaction of a friendly future.

Sir, the European community in Calcutta are to be congratulated on their rational attitude in not raising any objection to the proposal for the removal of the monument. If the monument disappears from its site and when it is admitted that the occurrence which it is intended to perpetuate in memory is illusory, it follows as a natural corollary that reference to this incident should also disappear from all text and historical books. Therefore the sooner it is obliterated

from our memory, the better would it be for all concerned. I am confident that there will be no objection to this proposal from any section of the House. I am also confident that the European group will, as before, take a sensible view of the matter and thus demonstrate their changed outlook towards Indian feelings and sentiments.

Sir, representing a constituency of the district of Murshidabad as I do, I cannot but mention that it was the seat of the Government of Nawab Sirajuddowla and the centre of our culture and civilisation, which even now is reminiscent of our past glories and traditions.

Now a word with regard to the character of the late Nawab Sirajuddowla. Modern research has proved that he was a man of very genial and generous temperament. He was the last independent ruler of Bengal and after the assumption of Government by the East India Company it was their look-out for political reasons and considerations, to taint his character with all sorts of vile allegations and accusations. This was done with the sole intention of showing to the people whom they had brought under their subjugation that their former ruler was one who was not fit to govern and therefore they had taken over the rein of office for the common good of the people. Modern historians and chroniclers have proved satisfactorily and conclusively that Nawab Sirajuddowla was more erred against than earring A grievous injustice has been done to his memory and in the fitness of things we should now allocate a position of honour and reverence to one who has been proved to be a man of the people loved, respected and revered by them.

Historians who have painted the evil character of Sirajuddowla did so either because they were paid by the Government to do so or they wanted to curry favour with them. In those days of autocratic reign it was not possible for any contemporary historians to either get materials for a frank and true exposition of the life and character of this ruler or they did not have the courage to make any reference to the nobility of his character. Sir, now that conditions have changed we should expunge from all books such portions of references to the life, character and ability of Sirajuddowla as are the outcome of malice, grudge and ill-will. We shall thus do justice to one who served his country and died fighting valiantly in an attempt to keep her free from foreign domination. May his soul rest in peace must be the prayer of all patriots.

Sir, I appeal to the Government and to my colleagues to right the wrong that has been deliberately done to the memory of Nawab Sirajuddowla to serve the purpose of British political aggrandisement and remove from the pages of history and text-books all references to the mythical episode.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY : মাননীয় স্পিকার মহোদয়, আমার বন্ধু ফারহাদ রেজা যে resolution এনেছেন এর ভিতর যদি আমাদের মাননীয় বন্ধু

একটা কথা যোগ দিতেন তবে এই প্রস্তাবটা আমাদের পক্ষে সমর্থনের যোগ্য হতো। After the words "Black Hole Tragedy" নিম্নলিখিত শব্দগুলি "as true incidents" যোগ দিলে আমরা কোন রকমে এই প্রস্তাব সমর্থণ করিতে পারি।

একথা বল্‌বার আমার উদ্দেশ্য হ'ল এই যে Black Hole Tragedy একটা মিথ্যার উপর রচিত। বাংলার শেষ স্বাধীন নরপতি নবাব সিরাজদ্দৌলার বিরুদ্ধে একটা propaganda করবার জন্য ইংরেজ কর্তৃক এই Black Hole Tragedy উদ্ভাবিত হোয়েছিল। এই জিনিষটা যে সত্য নয় সেকথা যে সমস্ত ঐতিহাসিকেরা ঐতিহাসিক প্রমাণের দ্বারা সিদ্ধান্ত কোরেছেন সে সমুদায় যদি না থাকতে পারে তা'হলে এ resolutionএর কোনই অর্থ হয় না। শুধু সমস্ত বই থেকে Black Hole Tragedy উঠিয়ে দিলাম বল্লেই সেটা উঠে যাবে না। ইংরাজের মিথ্যা এই ইতিহাস, আমাদের বাংলার স্বাধীন নৃপতি নবাব সিরাজদ্দৌলার চরিত্রের বিরুদ্ধে এই যে ভীষণতম chargeএর সমর্থণে বিরচিত এই যে Black Hole Tragedy সেই কাহিনীকে মিথ্যা প্রতিপন্ন কোরে, সেই chargeকে অপনোদণ কোরে যাঁরা বই লিখেছেন, সেই বইগুলি যাতে থাক্‌তে পারে সেই জন্য আমি বোল্‌ছি যে as true incident শব্দকটা যোগ করা হোক এবং আমার বন্ধুকে অনুরোধ কোর্‌ছি তিনি এই শব্দ কয়টি তাঁর resolutionএর ভিতর গ্রহণ করুন।

একটা জিনিষ, এই প্রসঙ্গে,—মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আপনার through দিয়ে আমি এই পরিষদের সভ্যদের জানাচ্ছি যে যেমন ৺অক্ষয়কুমার মৈত্রেয় মহোদয়—অক্লান্ত পরিশ্রম কোরে মুর্শিদাবাদে বোসে খুঁটিনাটি অনুসন্ধানের পর যে ইতিহাস রচনা কোরে Black Hole Tragedyকে মিথ্যা প্রতিপণ্ন কোরেছেন,—এবং এটা যে নিছক একটা মিথ্যা propaganda,—বাংলার স্বাধীন নরপতির বিরুদ্ধে, সেটা স্পষ্ট কোরে দেখিয়ে দিতে পেরেছেন, সে সব সমালোচনা যদি না থাক্‌তে পারে তাহলে এ resolution পাশ করার কোনই মূল্য থাকে না। এই সম্পর্কে আমি আর একটু বোল্‌তে চাই যে এই কল্পিত Black Hole Tragedyর নিশানাটা, যা নাকি কোরে গেছেন লর্ড কর্জন এই হলওয়েল্ মনুমেণ্ট নাম পরিগ্রহণ কোরে যেটা আজও কলিকাতার বুকের উপর খাড়া আছে সেটাকে অপসারণের আন্দোলন উপস্থিত হবার প্রায় এক মাস পূর্ণ হবার পর আমাদের মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী সাহেব কথা দিয়েছিলেন যে বাংলার শেষ স্বাধীন নৃপতির চরিত্রের বিরুদ্ধে ইংরেজ গভর্ণমেণ্টের মিথ্যা propaganda মূলক এই যে Black Hole Tragedy স্মৃতিবাহক হল্‌ওয়েল্ মনুমেণ্ট এটাকে শীঘ্রই অপসারণ করা হবে। কিন্তু গত এক মাসের মধ্যে তার নিদর্শন পেলাম না। উপরন্তু বাংলার সেই সব দেশসেবক হিন্দু-মুসলমান কর্মীগণ যারা নাকি নবাব সিরাজদ্দৌলার সেই মিথ্যা অপকলঙ্কের নিদর্শণ দূর করবার জন্য আত্মবিসর্জ্জণ কোরতে প্রস্তুত হোয়ে কারাবরণ কোরেছেন এখনো পর্য্যন্ত তাদের ছেড়ে দেওয়া হয় নাই। কোন রকম আত্ম স্বার্থের জন্য নয়—জাতীয় কলঙ্ক অপনোদনের জন্যই তাঁরা যুদ্ধক্ষেত্রে অবতীর্ণ হোয়ে হলওয়েল্ মনুমেণ্টটাকে সরাতে গিয়েছিলেন। এখন সেই হলওয়েল্ মনুমেণ্ট যদি গভর্ণমেণ্ট কর্তৃক অপসারিত হয় তাহলে কি

অজুহাতে যে তারা কারারুদ্ধ থাকবে আমি তো বুঝে উঠতে পারি না (SOME MEMBERS OF THE KRISHAK PROJA GROUP : Shame, shame.) আর Chief Minister মহোদয়ের প্রতিশ্রুতি অনুসারেই—যখন আন্দোলনটা থামানো হয়েছে, তখন সেই আন্দোলন সম্পর্কে যারা গ্রেপ্তার হোয়েছে—তারা কেন অনর্থক কারাগারে আবদ্ধ থাকবে? সেইজন্য আমি বোলছি আমার Coalition দলের বন্ধুদের কাছে তাঁরা এই যে resolution এনেছেন—কবির ভাষায় বোলতে গেলে বোলতে হয়—

"একি শুধু হাসি খেলা,
প্রমোদের মেলা,
শুধু মিছে কথা ছলনা?"

আজ একমাস হোয়ে গেছে হলওয়েল্ মনুমেণ্ট অপসারণের কথাও আর শুনি না, সেজন্য যে সব কর্ম্মীকে ৮।৯ মাসের জন্য কারারুদ্ধ করা হোয়েছে তারা কারাগারেই রোয়ে গেছে। এর দ্বারা স্পষ্টই প্রতীয়মান হোচেচ যে বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টের প্রধানমন্ত্রী যে কথা দেন সে কথা রক্ষিত হয় না।

আমার আর একটা নিবেদন হোচেচ শুধু বই থেকে Black Hole Tragedyর বৃত্তান্ত উঠিয়ে দিলেই চোলবেনা। আর একটা জিনিষ হোচেচ এই যে যাঁরা মুর্শিদাবাদে নবাব আলিবর্দ্দী খাঁ আর বাংলার শেষ স্বাধীন নবাব সিরাজের কবরের পার্শ্বে কখনো উপস্থিত হোয়েছেন, তাঁরা সকলেই তাঁদের কবরের শোচনীয় অবস্থা চরম দুর্দ্দশা দেখে মর্ম্মাহত না হোয়ে পারেন নি। এসম্বন্ধে আমি একবার প্রশ্নও দিয়েছি; কিন্তু Bengal Governmentএর jurisdiction নয় বোলে আমার প্রশ্ন disallowed হোয়েছে। যদি আপনারা কেউ যান দেখতে পাবেন সে কবরখানার চেহারা কি এরকম কালো বিবর্ণ অপরিচ্ছন্ন হোয়ে আছে। একটা যে সাওতাল তার তত্ত্বাবধানে আছে সে রোজ সন্ধ্যায় বাতি দেয় কিনা জানি না। আমি জানি না তার সেখানে প্রার্থনা করার কোন যোগ্যতা আছে কিনা? ("Shame, shame" from Coalition Benches.) আমি জিজ্ঞাসা কোরছি—বাংলার স্বাধীন নবাবের কবরখানার প্রতি কি বাংলার বর্ত্তমান গভর্ণমেণ্টের কোনই কর্ত্তব্য নাই? সেখানে ঠিকমত প্রার্থনার জন্য একটি মৌলবী সাহেব নিযুক্ত ও নিয়মমত বাতি দেবার একটা বন্দোবস্ত কি বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্ট কোরতে পারেন না? শুধু একটা resolution এনে বাইরে বাইরে দেখালেই চোলবে না—যে তাঁদের খুব দরদ আছে। এসব তাতে এখন আর লোকে ভোলে না। লোকে এখন ঠিকমত কাজ হোচেচ কিনা দেখতে চায়। তারা হলওয়েল্ মনুমেণ্টের আশু অপসারণ চায়, এবং সেটা অপসারণ করার জন্য যে সব কর্ম্মী কারারুদ্ধ হোয়েছে তাদের মুক্তি চায়। যদি বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টের বাস্তবিক সদিচ্ছা থাকে এবং যদি তাঁদের সরলতা ও sincerity থাকে তাহলে শুধু এই resolution গ্রহণ কোরেই লোক ভুলাতে চেষ্টা কোরবেন না। এই সকল কর্ম্মীকে অচিরে মুক্তি দেবার বন্দোবস্ত করুন।

আজকে বাংলার সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ কর্ম্মী দেশ গৌরব সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু এই হলওয়েল মনুমেণ্ট অপসারণের আন্দোলনের জন্য কারারুদ্ধ। কই এখনো তো বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টের মুখ থেকে বেরুচ্ছে না যে তাঁকে ছেড়ে দেওয়া হবে। তাঁর বিরুদ্ধে কি charge আছে

সেটা তাঁকে Courtএ produce কোরে প্রমাণ করা হয় নাই। Secretary of State বোলেছেন যে তাঁকে হলওয়েল মনুমেণ্টের জন্যই গ্রেপ্তার করা ও আটক করা হোয়েছে। যদি সেই হলওয়েল্ মনুমেণ্টই না থাকে তবে বাংলার সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ নেতা সুভাষচন্দ্র কারাগারে থাকেন কি কোরে?

উপসংহারে আমি আমার বন্ধুকে বোল্‌ছি যে "as true incident" তাঁর re olutionএর মধ্যে যোগ কোরে এটাকে আমাদের সামনে দিন, আমরা সর্ব্বান্তকরণে সমর্থন করি, এবং এই re-olution move করার সঙ্গে তাঁরা বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বলুন—হল্‌ওয়েল্ মনুমেণ্ট অপসারণ করা হোক। এবং উহা অপসারণের জন্য যাঁরা কারারুদ্ধ হোয়েছেন তাঁদের মুক্তিদান করা হোক, আর নবাব সিরাজদ্দৌলা ও আলিবর্দ্দী খাঁর কবরের যথাযোগ্য সম্মান রক্ষা করা হোক।

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think I would require about half an hour to reply. This matter concerns us a great deal, because it is our history. It comes down from our ancestors who were responsible for it and it is for us to defend their narrative.

Sir, as a representative of the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans, a community whose members are countrymen of Bengal, I feel that it is my duty to protest against the removal of the Holwell Monument and to see that the sacred memory of our forefathers, who suffered and fell at the hands of Serajuddowla, the Nawab of Bengal, during his assault on their settlement in June, 1756, is respected. I did not take part earlier in this debate because I felt that the rights of the minorities were quite safe in the hands of a Cabinet which consisted of the major communities of the province.

The History of the Early European Settlers is too well known to those scholars, who have interested themselves and spoken on the subject for me to dilate on the matter. Suffice it to say that the Danes had their factory at Serampore, the Dutch at Chinsurah, the French at Chandernagore, the Germans at Bankybazar, the Portuguese at Bandel, and the English at Hooghly But the English being harried between the years 1686 to 1690 ultimately settled down at Sutanati, now known as Calcutta, on the 24th August, 1690, under the leadership of their Chief Factor Job Charnock. By 1698 the English had expanded to 3 villages, Sutanati, Kalikota and Govindpur, paying an annual rent of Rs. 1,300 to the Emperor Aurangzeb at Delhi. In 1700 Calcutta was purchased from Prince Azam, grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb, by the East India Company and a fort was built. By 1717 the English had extended to 38 villages, comprising such places as Chitpur, Ultadanga, Sealdah, Entally, Chowringhee, etc.,—names which survive to this day—and paying a rent of Rs. 8,000 annually. So that by 1756 they were fairly prosperous. At this time they were attacked and plundered by Siraj-ud-dowla with an enormous army consisting of 70,000 horse and foot and 400 elephants (reference Hayden's Dictionary of Dates).

Now, history tells us that Job Charnock married a Hindu girl.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: On a point of order, Sir. Is this all relevant?

Mr. SPEAKER: Why didn't you rise immediately after that statement was made?

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Can he speak on these lines?

Mr. SPEAKER: Let us hear him first.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Sir, I must be allowed to build up my case. He had three children, one of whom—Mary—married Sir Charles Eyre, the founder of Fort William—and he also built the Charnock Mausoleum. It is natural to conclude that others also married. We may, therefore, trace the origin of the Anglo-Indians of mixed descent to before 1690 in Bengal and state that by 1756 their existence as a community was a well-established fact. Therefore, Sir, when Calcutta was captured by Siraj-ud-dowla both Europeans and Anglo-Indians fought side by side. The history of Englishmen, therefore, is the history of Anglo-Indians and to oppose the history of Englishmen is to oppose the history of your countrymen. The Black Hole Tragedy is a well-recognized incident in the assault by Siraj-ud-dowla in 1756 for plunder. (Cries of "Never, never" from Coalition Benches.) Well, my friends, we never interrupted you when you spoke. We sat silently. You must now listen to me. He did not only plunder the English but all the citizens of Calcutta, for when restitution was made after the Battle of Plassey, the Armenians got £70,000, the Hindus and Muslims £200,000, and the English £500,000.

The fact is that Siraj-ud-dowla was disappointed when he found only Rs. 50,000 in the Treasury and because some of the soldiers, who were drunk, showed fight, he ordered that Holwell and all the other captives be imprisoned. He, however, liberated the Armenians and the Portuguese.

We find that his orders were carried out to the letter, with the result that only 23 survived the next morning, the others having died of suffocation, being crammed into a room about 18 feet by 15 feet. Now, Sir, it has been disputed by some that this is a physical impossibility to cram 145 men and one woman into 270 square feet of space. Well, Sir, if we allow two feet by one foot space for every person, we get accommodation for 135, and at the point of the sword we can imagine how the extra 10 were squeezed in. You have only to see how many Indians can squeeze into a *tucca gharry* to have an idea what a given space will hold of human beings.

When we get over this fact, we are told that there could not be 145 Europeans. Now, we all know that the entire Christian population took shelter in the Fort and that only the Armenians and the Portuguese were liberated. So it follows that the other Indian Christians known as Eurasians who claimed to be British and could not be certified as Portuguese were forced into the Black Hole, and so about 70 persons were not identified as Europeans.

Again, we are told that the Council never believed the story. Yet we find that on the 31st January, 1757, the Council wrote to the Court of Directors as follows:—

"Our Chaplains having both demised, Mr. Gervas Bellamy in the Black Hole . . . . .we have appointed the Reverend Mr. Cobble our Chaplain .." This letter was signed by Drake, Kilpatrick, Becher, Pearkes, Frankland, and Macket.

This inhuman act was made public in every way possible, and yet the charge was never refuted. This is the main point we should consider, for "A city built on a hill cannot be hid".

Admiral Watson charged Siraj-ud-Daula with the crime. Colonel Clive reported the affair to the Emperor at Delhi, and the people were made aware of the fact by the erection of the monument in their very midst as early as 1760. Again, the enemies and rivals of England, the French and the Dutch, were in possession of the fact as early as the 3rd July, 1756, and they must have discussed it with the intelligentsia and the officials of Bengal.

Again, Holwell officially reported the occurrence on the 17th July, 1756, to the Councils at Bombay and Madras, and again on the 3rd August, 1756, to Madras. He also reported the affair to the Court of Directors in England and he wrote to his friend William Davies in England on the 28th February, 1757. Surely, no sane man would do all this if it was not a fact, and Holwell was sane enough for he was made Governor in 1760. Again, some gentlemen have asserted that it is a myth. May I ask, Sir, what was to be gained by Holwell and his alleged accomplices to keep such a secret? Men like Cooke, Lushington, Captain Mills, Dickson, Court Burdett, and Holwell, who had faced mighty odds and held up the forces of Siraj-ud-dowla for two days—70,000 horse and foot and 400 elephants—and had earned everlasting glory and honour were now to besmirch their fair names and tell the world that they only survived by trampling to death their weaker and wounded companions. What an unmanly and preposterous story to invent! My countrymen, let not malice but reason guide you. Remember, you can only throw dust in the eyes of those with less understanding, but your opinions will be judged by the world and should be impartial and respected.

Sir, let us calmly consider the facts. Admiral Watson, the man, whom the "Historian's History of the World" describes as one with higher spirit because he refused to sign any fictitious document regarding Umichand—he directly charged Siraj-ud-dowla with the crime on the 17th December, 1756, and accused him of having "killed great numbers of the King my master's subjects.... ....many of whom have also been deprived of their lives in the most barbarous and inhuman manner." Surely, reference is here made to the suffocation in the dungeon without the least doubt. It is to Admiral Watson's lasting credit that he opposed the Treaty made by Clive on the 2nd February, 1757, and ratified on the 12th February, 1757, due to the Black Hole incident. The "Historian's History of the World" on page 57, Volume 22, says that it was a stain on the honour of England to make such a Treaty. Is it not significant that no denial was made by Siraj-ud-dowla against the charge of barbarous and inhuman treatment? Colonel Clive, vindicating his action for the Battle of Plassey, wrote as follows to the Emperor Alamgir Sani on the 23rd of July, 1757:—

"The English, who were merchants were destitute of all implements of war, were easily defeated and Siraj-ud-dowla took and plundered Calcutta on the 20th June, 1756, and all the great men and other Englishmen that fell into his hands were by his order suffocated in one night."

Is it not significant that this charge was not denied by the Emperor? Could greater proof be wanted for a historical fact? Or must we wait 160 years and then refute evidences of the happenings referred to? By this procedure we will have no history and certainly no religion.

All the contemporary settlers in Bengal referred to the occurrence and left records. The Armenians, the Dutch, the French, and the Prussians (Germans at Bankybazar)—they must have discussed the matter in the press and platform and yet no cognizance was taken by the Nawab and above all no denial was made by any of the Muslim historians. We can understand their silence on a subject that put a stigma on their fair name, by their Nawab who murdered his uncle's two Deputies, and robbed his aunt Ghesecty Begum and who was responsible for Muslim rule in Bengal changing hands. Then when Holwell succeeded Clive as Governor in 1760, he shortly after put up the Monument at his own expense and the first picture appeared in 1764 in the "India Tracts". There was again no protest or denial.

No adverse importance should be paid to the fact that Holwell put up the monument at his own expense because we also find that the Reverend Kiernander put up the first Protestant Church, the old Mission Church, at his own expense in 1767.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, all that the resolution wants is that all references to the Black Hole should be omitted from the text-books. So it is absolutely out of the question to discuss whether it is a historical fact or not. If one member says that it is a historical fact, there may be hundreds who will say that it is not. So, I would request you to rule that the speech must be relevant to the resolution before us

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Yes, but I am proving that it is not a historical myth. That is the point raised.

Mr. SPEAKER: Since the resolution is based on the Black Hole tragedy, if some one says that it is not a historical myth I cannot rule him out of order.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, what I submit is that there is a feeling on this question. The mover of the resolution says that it is a controversial matter and it is opposed to the best interests of the country; so all references to the Black Hole tragedy should be omitted. Whether it is a historical fact or not is beside the point here.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: How can you judge before you hear me? You have heard one side, you must hear the other side now.

Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India and a historian of no mean order, after having satisfied himself as to facts had the monument or cenotaph placed in its present position in 1902, dedicating it to the sacred memory of our forefathers, who fought, suffered and fell to mighty odds and who were buried near about there. For, history says that a pit was dug near the fort and the dead buried there. The site of the old Fort was where the General Post Office now stands.

Lord Curzon spoke of the victims as those "whose martyrdom on that night of doom, 20th June, 1756, had laid the foundation stone of British Dominion in Bengal", and who were these if not Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians as well? Again there was no protest or denial. Then in 1907 when the "Historian's History of the World" was compiled by 33 of the World's greatest historians who wrote without the least partiality from authenticated records, we had their decision that the story of the Black Hole was no myth. These same historians tell us on pages 54-55 in Volume 22 of Seraj-ud-Dowla's victory. They write in no favourable terms about the English leaders. They do not hesitate to tell us the truth about Clive and Hastings and why should we disbelieve them when they tell us about Holwell? They wrote as follows:—No example of spirit was set them by their chiefs. On the contrary the Governor Mr. Drake and the Commanding Officer

Captain Minchin, being struck with a disgraceful panic embarked in a boat and escaped down the river.

Under the circumstances a Civilian, Mr. Holwell, though not a senior servant of the Company, was by the general voice called to the direction of affairs. At this time the Nawab's artillery was already thundering at the walls. Yet under every disadvantage Mr. Holwell protracted for two days longer the defence of the Fort. Now War is Hell let loose. No one expects the enemy to be over-generous. Seraj-ud-doula was not considered a saint and therefore not reputed with qualities of a Buddha or a Christ. So I fail to see what stigma can be attached to his name if a memorial sacred to the memory of the ancestors were to remain in its place.

Those were cruel days. Perhaps it was considered honourable to fight and plunder. The same historians tell us that on the 5th of October, 1763, the European prisoners at Patna over 150 were all massacred save one man named William Fullarton and again we are told that the British under Sir Hector Munro had 24 native soldiers blown from the mouth of cannon because they were insubordinate and showed signs of mutiny just before the battle of Buxur in 1764. The fact that only 23 survived out of 145 men and 1 woman proves that they were crammed into that dungeon, 18 feet by 15 feet, and those that survived only did so by stepping on the bodies of their comrades and by getting on the top of those piled below in their struggle for air and in this connection we may as well cite the words of Holwell:—"From half an hour past eleven till nearly two in the morning I sustained the weight of a heavy man with his knees in my back and the pressure of his whole body on my head, a Dutch Sergeant, who had taken his seat upon my left shoulder and a topaz (a black Christian usually termed subjects of Portugal) bearing on my right". This will prove that there were Eurasians in the Black Hole and others besides the Europeans. It should be noted here that the Portuguese visited India as early as 1498. Now can we try and picture the sufferings of those who go down in a ship when torpedoed at night the frantic attempts of men, women and children trying to save themselves from drowning? Can we imagine the plight of those that are trapped in a sunken submarine or again can we picture the agony and torture of a whole regiment that has been gassed? Because a gifted writer describes these sufferings to be most inhuman, must we doubt these occurrences and say that they are myths? We all know that human beings have dual characters, the same man who takes a fiendish delight in killing can an hour later be seen interceding to save the life of another. Does it not seem strange that 160 years after the Black Hole Tragedy that one Mr. Little, an Englishman, and Mr. A. K. Maitra, a Hindu, should come forward in 1915-16, a time when India was promised Home Rule and all Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians were to be cut adrift from the wealthy Europeans who were here for temporary purposes and we

were to be called Indians and as such we were to be deprived of our past glorious history. It is gratifying to find that no Muslim of mark has taken a prominent part in this act. (Cries of "No, no, never" from Coalition Benches.) Well, then mention a single name. You cannot.

It is clear that Great Britain would not like to force her will on any self-governing people. It is for us to stand up for our rights and to appeal to our countrymen to respect our sentiments and what we hold sacred, the memory of our forefathers, for the poet has rightly said, "And how can man die better than facing fearful odds, the ashes of his father and the temples of his gods". Let us be worthy countrymen of yours, worthy sons of Britain and India. Let us be an asset to you. The country in the long run will do better with us than without us.

And, Sir, may I ask on what grounds must the Holwell Monument be removed? Because Holwell did not take a roll call and check the names of the dead and the living and on each occasion that he referred to the incident he failed to give us a verbatim account of the number and personnel. This is ridiculous.

(Here the blue light appeared signalling the speaker that he was to close his speech.)

Sir, will you please see that the light is put out. You must hear me to the end to enable me to prove my case. I asked for half an hour.

How many eye-witnesses are able to relate an incident and agree on mere details. Lawyers in this House will tell you the number of cases they have won, basing the claims for justice, due to this defect in our mental powers. And after a night of horrors and fighting the enemy for days I ask you if the memory would not play strange tricks.

Then, because John Cooke, an eye-witness, Secretary to Governor Drake, 16 years after in 1772 on May 26th in giving evidence before a Committee *had nothing new to impart* save that he mentioned that the prisoners walked in while Holwell said the rest followed like a torrent and he stated that there were 150 instead of 146.

And again because Captain Mills, another eye-witness, *had something new to impart* that he escaped from the Black Hole and that there were women and children—surely Mills could have got away by some means either by force or by bribing the sepoys and the women and children could have been removed, the women suffering a worse fate than death.

And finally because another eye-witness, an anonymous writer in the London Chronicle of June, 1757, gave a list of names, and mentioned nine names who died in the Black Hole, and their names were also mentioned as killed in action during the siege of the fort, and this writer stated that Captain Mills was not a "Black Hole" man which

only proves that he was missing in the morning and had escaped as he had stated.

Now due to these minor discrepancies, are we to reject the occurrence as a myth and lose sight of the main fact that the charge made direct against Siraj-ud-Daulah by Admiral Watson, by Colonel Clive to the Emperor, by Holwell to the people by his monument and to the learned by our contemporaries the French, the Dutch and others in their papers, etc. Well, if this is to be our logic, when next a couple goes to see a football match and there should be a dispute as to who shot the goal, Dick or Harry, let us conclude that there was no football match. Or again when we meet in this House and adjourn due to some important occurrence, and if three or four persons disagree as to who were present, and what the Speaker said, let us conclude that there was no meeting.

Sir, Bengal speaks of nationalism. Bengal speaks of working together with due regard for the rights and privileges of the minorities. The British Parliament and people are cutting the Anglo-Indians adrift from the influential and wealthy Europeans not domiciled here and in granting India Provincial Autonomy have handed over our destiny into the hands of the major communities with a few safeguards. In Bengal we are at the mercy of the Muslims. Surely it is not necessary to constantly remind them that we have our religion, culture, history and traditions just as the Muslims and Hindus have theirs, and for them to respect each other they must morally respect ours.

This great injustice will lead to no bond of friendship between the two major communities, but will be the cause of endless trouble for after all the Muslims are in the minority in India and they have the greatest respect for memorials built in honour of the dead, and for them to get justice must they always be assertive and show that they are masters of the situation as they did recently in Calcutta. When a Fakir died in the Sir Stuart Hogg Market and was buried there, the Muslims dared the Hindu officials in the Calcutta Corporation to touch that structure or make them remove the remains elsewhere. It is mere justice we want. The same law to apply equally to Muslims, Hindus, Anglo-Indians. So, all honour and glory to those that have the moral courage to defend the minorities. Justice is therefore depicted blind-folded.

To remove the Holwell Monument is to rob the Muslims of all honour and glory——

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, Mr. Griffiths. I cannot allow you to proceed like this. I did not want to interrupt you because you advanced the claim of minorities. But you are already beside the point in thinking that the subject-matter of the debate to-day is the Holwell Monument.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: All right, Sir. Firstly it was a Muslim victory by Siraj-ud-Daulah for plunder rightly or wrongly. Secondly it was a greater moral victory by the Muslims under the General Mir Jaffar in refusing to help Siraj-ud-Daulah who had conspired with the French to attack the English after the treaty with Clive and ratified on the 12th February, 1757, in spite of the Black Hole incident and the plunder of Calcutta.

To remove the Holwell Monument is to remove——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Then I will have to ask you to sit down.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: One second more, Sir. To remove the Holwell monument is to remove the cause of Plassey and it shows the Muslims up in a bad light as those who betrayed and sold their King without rhyme or reason and rank them as mere traitors. It is best not to disturb the memory of the dead.

Mr. C. W. MILES: We thought that we had heard the last of this regrettable controversy and we have done our very best to respect the susceptibilities of Indian opinion. Delving into history does no good but we have just now heard an enthusiastic brave man speak up on behalf of his community. As regards the practical aspect of this resolution it only applies to Bengal; and it cannot apply to the rest of India over which the Government of Bengal has no jurisdiction. Can the Government of Bengal commandeer all the books in this province and buy every single copy to erase all reference to Holwell and Siraj-ud-Dowla and to the whole episode? Cannot it be forgotten since you have won your battle and the Holwell Monument will disappear from Clive Street?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I am suggesting an amendment. The difficulty that has been pointed out by Mr. Miles is a real one. Quite apart from the question whether it is historically a fact or not, all that the Government can do is to take steps that books having references to the alleged Black Hole tragedy as a historical fact shall not be used in our educational institutions. My amendment is worded like this:—

> "This Assembly is of opinion that the Government of Bengal should take immediate action for not allowing any books having reference to the alleged Black Hole tragedy as a historical fact to be used as text-books or prize books in educational institutions in Bengal."

Mr. M. FARHAD RAZA CHOWDHURY: I would be prepared to accept the amended resolution.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, I have heard the amendment moved by my honourable friend Mr. Fazlul Huq, but I am still of opinion that the resolution placed before the House is not a practical one. If I may illustrate my proposition,—for instance, if there was a ban on all books containing references to the alleged Black Hole tragedy, then the book of Mr. Akshoy Kumar Maitra of Rajshahi on Siraj-ud-daulah would never have seen the light of day. He was one of the first to challenge what was alleged as a historical fact, and we know for a fact that he spent six long months at Murshidabad wading through all the literature that was available in order to come to his conclusion that the alleged tragedy was a myth. But I would ask my friends on the other side to allow truth to assert itself because those of us who have anything to do with educational institutions ought always to bear in mind that once you ban freedom of opinion and freedom of expression, the history that you write and the history that you read is not worth reading. May I give another illustration? Until recent times, among a particular class of historians, the great Maratha Chieftain Sivaji was branded as a robber and a brigand. But only recently his statue was unveiled by a countryman of the same class of historians, who happened to be the Governor of Bombay. Similarly, if you examine any historical fact there is bound to be two sides to that. Therefore, I would appeal to my honourable friends opposite, as I said just now, to allow truth to assert itself. Truth cannot assert itself until the matter is thrashed out from different points of view. I repeat again for the consideration of my honourable friends opposite that if you were to take this step you would be creating a precedent which in my humble opinion would be dangerous. After all history cannot be written under a ban. What does it matter if S. C. Hill or a whole host of historians on one side describe the Black Hole Tragedy as a historical fact if we have other historians on the other side who will examine those alleged facts and place before the country materials which will go to show that what was described as a historical fact was only a myth.

Sir, when I think of the work done by Akshoy Kumar Maitra of Rajshahi, when I think of the work done by J. H. Little, and when I think of the pages in *Bengal: Past and Present*, which contain both sides of the picture, I am very unwilling to lend my support to a resolution which will make history not worth reading. Take the last Great War for instance. Much was said on behalf of Great Britain at the time. To-day, a different set of historians have said something very different and on the occasion of the war resolution I quoted as

my authority some of the present-day British historians in condemnation of Great Britain's war aims of 1914. Take Napoleon. He was at one time represented as almost a monster in human form. What is the judgment of history to-day? Take the battle of Waterloo. It was described in one way at the time. To-day, we know of facts which attribute the real praise for the victory to the persons who really deserved it. Similarly, going through the whole gamut, if you consider any question from the historical standpoint, you ought not to pass a resolution which will stifle freedom of opinion, which will stifle freedom of expression and which in the end, I say in all seriousness, will make our text-books worthless. I am entirely at one with the opinion shared by my learned friends opposite regarding the Black Hole Tragedy, namely, that it was a myth. I am entirely at one with them, and though it was said a few days ago in this House that political capital was sought to be made by some Congressmen and some Hindus, I feel proud of the fact that the myth was exposed by one who will go down to posterity as a great Hindu historian. But at the same time, I would ask my friends opposite not to put the ban which they are seeking to place by this resolution both on the ground that truth in history will assert itself in time, and also on the ground that it is not a practical proposition. How can you possibly give effect to a resolution which asks for the omission of all references to the alleged Black Hole Tragedy? Are you going to-day to put a ban on Major B. D. Basu's five volumes on the *Rise of the Christian Power in India*? He is one of the historians of recent times, who has exposed this myth in a most merciless fashion. Are you going to ban his book, because it contains reference to the Black Hole tragedy? Take any historical fact, I mean anything which is alleged as a historical fact. It may be that time will show that what was considered to be a historical fact in the year 1856 is not a historical fact in the year of grace 1940.

I say the resolution even as amended does not make it a practical proposition. I would ask the Hon'ble Chief Minister to consider if it is possible for him and his Government to give effect to the resolution as amended. I submit it is not possible. You cannot do it and I submit you ought not to do it. If a myth has been described as a historical fact, you will not expose the myth by stopping all reference in your books to that alleged fact. You will expose that myth effectively if you allow other historians to come on the scene and to place unchallengable materials before the public and to root out from the minds of the public any impression that what has been condemned to-day as a myth was a historical fact at the time. I therefore think that in these matters you should leave to the historians of Bengal and of India to do justice to the subject and by their writings, by their speeches, by their teachings in the classrooms, whether in schools or colleges, to expose this myth in a more merciless fashion than has been done in the past.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the speech to which we have listened just now has left me depressed and crushed. To leave Truth to assert itself may be a *mahatmaic* principle, but in a country where our children are forced to read books which are full of lies and of historical facts which never occurred, Sir, even if the country has to spend some money I would have all the text-books brought into the compound of this Assembly and set fire to them.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please do it outside the Assembly. (Laughter.)

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: The learned Leader of the Opposition has again tried to give us examples of how Truth has asserted itself. Historians may differ in their conclusions and about the opinions they give but there cannot be room for a difference of opinion about facts. They are there or they are not there. Waterloo was fought. That is an unquestionable fact. Whether Napolean's strategy was correct or Blucher's coming from one side and Wellington's from the other incorrect, I leave to the historians. But the fact, whether there was a Black Hole incident or not, has been decided and it is an absolute necessity that all mention of it should be removed from school and college text-books. The resolution demands that all mention of it should be expunged as the incident never occurred. The honourable member representing the Anglo-Indian community has dabbled in history to-night and has produced before the House a plethora of quotations from various writers The leaders of the English settlement of those days have been described well by Burke and Sheridan. I am, therefore, not prepared to accept the encomiums showered on the gentlemen whose names he has repeated at such length. If I were an Anglo-Indian, Sir, I would not be proud of my ancestors. (Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: "I am proud of my forefathers.") Their history is not a good history. I would like the honourable member representing the Anglo-Indian community to realise, once and for all, that under the pressure of a Government which has been known as perfidious Albion the authorities he has quoted could not write history. The English have never written history and they shall never be able to write history If propaganda has a value in human life, then I demand, Sir, that children should not be forced to go on repeating a myth. I do not consider Siraj-ud-Daula to be a saint. He was of a family which did not stand by the Emperor of Delhi. I hold no brief for him. But can we in the face of overwhelming evidence say that Siraj-ud-Daula did it? Dutch references have been brought in. One of the greatest Professors of a Continental University went to the Hague but he did not find one reference to this so-called tragedy in the official documents. Another historian, also a very eminent man, went to Portugal and Spain and looked up all the documents there. There was not one reference to the Black Hole tragedy

to be found anywhere. Then, Sir, I feel certain that the honourable representative of the Anglo-Indian community will accept the statement that the early East India Company folk, whether they were factors or whether they were Colonels and Generals, were not very honourable men. Their record of history is a black one, and Englishmen or semi-Englishmen or Europeans or Eurasians or Anglo-Indians should be ashamed of feeling proud of their deeds in India.

For these reasons, Sir, I hold that the amendment should be rejected. Do not let us beat about the bush Either we have convictions or we have no convictions. The tragedy of the Black Hole, as it is called, never occurred and this fact I should like to teach to the children even if it costs us lakhs of rupees. Further, Sir, if Bengal gives the lead the rest of India must follow. If the Government of India and the Commissioner of Education or by whatever name that officer is called, do not listen to reason, we shall know how to get rid of these assertions of untruth from the history of India

I hope that the honourable representative of the Anglo-Indian community has heard of another tragedy. I refer, Sir, to the Moplah tragedy. In a railway truck probably double the number of those reported to have been locked up in the Black Hole were locked up and the number of deaths was higher than that in the alleged Black Hole. I do not know whether the representative of the Anglo-Indian community will agree to teach his children of the action of the Civil and Military officers who tried to hide information of that incident for many days in these days of light and civilization. I do not think, Sir, that it has ever been reported that in a moment of panic the officers killed many Moplahs in a railway truck where they died shouting for water but no water was given to them We Indians, Sir, have come to the conclusion that the so-called Black Hole incident never occurred and therefore it is just and fair that our children shall not be forced to learn it in the schools.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I shall say a few words in bringing the debate to a close As I indicated in the beginning, a lot of irrelevant matter has been introduced into this discussion. The question is not whether the alleged Black Hole tragedy is a historical fact or not, but what the resolution wants is that text-books in which there are references to the alleged Black Hole tragedy as a historical fact should not be used in educational institutions or used by the public anywhere in this province

Now, Sir, the latter part of the resolution points to an impossibility. How can a Government prevent a writer from writing something outside institutions or places over which Government have got no control? It is to that extent that I agree with the Leader of the Opposition, and it is for that reason, Sir, that I suggested that there

were practical difficulties in the way of accepting the resolution as it has been worded. But what we can do is what I have indicated in the suggested amendment. Leave alone the question whether it is a fact or not. Assume that it is not a fact and that it is a black lie. What I suggest is that Government will not, in deference to public feeling, allow the use of such books as text-books as represent the Black Hole tragedy as a historical fact. It is certainly open to me to read what books I like and not read what books I do not like. It is open to me to prescribe text-books for schools without saying whether everything that the book contains is true or false. It is open to me to use it as a text-book. To that extent we are prepared to go. That does not involve the question whether the Black Hole tragedy is a myth or not.

My friend Mr. Siddiqi has been carried away by his eloquence, and he wants to assert that we declare with all the emphasis that we can command that the Black Hole tragedy is a black myth. Let us all agree, but how does it solve the difficulties which arise from the wording of the resolution? It is for this reason, Sir, that I have suggested the amendment. It has been accepted by the mover, and if you permit, Sir, I would say that to that extent Government will be prepared to accept the amended resolution

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it agreed that this amendment should stand part of the resolution? (Cries of "Yes".) Then I shall put the amended resolution to vote.

The amended resolution of Mr. M. Farhad Raza Chowdhury that this Assembly is of opinion that the Government of Bengal should take immediate action for not allowing any books having reference to the alleged Black Hole tragedy as a historical fact to be used as text-books or prize books in educational institutions in Bengal, was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

It being 8-30 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Tuesday, the 27th August, 1940, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 27th August, 1940, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 212 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Filling up of posts of 26 Overseers in the Irrigation Department.

*206. **Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state whether the posts of 26 Overseers (20 reserved for Muslims and 6 for the Scheduled Castes) in the Irrigation Department as advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette* several months ago have been filled up?

(*b*) Is it a fact that these posts have been filled up by Caste Hindus?

(*c*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing separately the percentage of—

(1) Caste Hindus,

(2) Muslims, and

(3) Scheduled Castes

in the existing posts of Overseers in the—

(*i*) Irrigation,

(*ii*) Building, and

(*iii*) Communication

sections of the Department?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar): (*a*) and (*b*) No.

(*c*) Does not arise.

(*d*) A statement is laid on the table.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (d) of starred question No. 206, showing the percentage of different communities in the Subordinate Engineering Service including lower subordinates in the Department of Communications and Works.

	Muslims.	Caste Hindus.	Scheduled Castes.	Others.
Communications and Buildings Branch in the general line—				
Permanent ..	27·66	70·21	2·13	..
Temporary ..	28·57	64·29	..	7·14
Communications and Buildings Branch—Electrical—				
Permanent ..	18·75	75	..	6·25
Temporary ..	25	50	..	25
Irrigation Branch—				
Permanent ..	8·13	91·87	..	..
Temporary ..	33·33	62·50	4·17	..

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why these posts have not yet been filled up?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Because the matter is still under the consideration of Government.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, in view of the low percentage of Muslims in the services, what steps Government are taking to remove the disparity that exists in the services of the Irrigation and Communications and Works Department?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NADY, of Cossimbazar: The only way to do so is by following the Communal Ratio Rules.

Communal ratio of vendors of excise shops in the Province.

***207. Maulvi SYED BADRUDDUJA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Forest and Excise Department be pleased to state the present number of excise shops in the Province with profit of Rs.250 a month and above?

(*b*) How many of the vendors are—

(1) Muslims, and

(2) non-Muslims?

(*c*) Is it a fact that Government have passed orders that vacancies of excise shops should be filled up according to communal ratio fixed for appointments under Government?

(*d*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the orders are being observed by subordinate authorities?

MINISTER in charge of the FOREST and EXCISE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikut): (*a*) and (*b*) No record is maintained in the Excise Department of the profits of excise shops. The profits vary with the seasons. The collection of the information will entail labour which is not considered justifiable.

(*c*) Instructions have been issued that in districts where the representation of minority communities is disproportionately small, special consideration should be given to their claims in accordance with the ratio fixed for the minority communities in the communal ratio of services.

(*d*) No report of disregard of the instructions has been received.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: On a point of order, Sir. With reference to the answer (*b*), namely, "the collection of the information will entail labour which is not considered justifiable," may I enquire when the question has been admitted by the Hon'ble Speaker and has been declared by him to be a valid question, what right has the Hon'ble Minister to say that the collection of the information will entail labour which is not considered justifiable? We want that reply.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can refer this matter to the Committee of Privileges.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Then what should I do?

Mr. SPEAKER: You give a note to me and I will send it.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: All right, Sir.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if, before enforcing the communal ratio in the selection of the excise vendors, Government ascertained whether the Muslims desire to have a larger share in excise vendorship?

The Hon'ble Mr. PRASANNA DEB RAIKUT: No, Sir, in settlement of shops, Government follow the Communal Ratio Rules.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, my question has not been answered. My question is—Did the Hon'ble Minister try to ascertain whether the Muslims desire to have a larger share in excise vendorship?

The Hon'ble Mr. PRASANNA DEB RAIKUT: All the communities desire their own quota.

Number of primary schools, realisation of education cess and assessment of education tax in Noakhali district.

***209. Mr. HARENDRA KUMAR SUR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing with respect to the Noakhali district—

(*i*) the number of free primary schools for boys proposed to be established;

(*ii*) the number of such schools already established; and

(*iii*) the amount of education cess realised up to the 31st March, 1940?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of primary schools at present existing—

(1) for boys, and

(2) for girls; and

(*ii*) whether the existing primary schools for boys and girls will be allowed to continue as before?

(*c*) Is it a fact that the Union Board authorities have been asked to assess education tax other than education cess upon selected persons residing within their jurisdiction in the Noakhali district?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that since the imposition of education cess several petitions have been sent to the District Magistrate stating that some Union Boards have assessed education tax—

(*i*) upon the Hindu residents particularly; and

(*ii*) upon those who are opposed to the party in power?

(*e*) If the answer to (*d*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government contemplate the revision of the assessment by the District Magistrate, Noakhali?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (*a*) (*i*) 1,100 including primary sections of 140 secondary schools.

(*ii*) 186.

(*iii*) Rs.1,39,310.

(*b*) (*i*) (1) 1,133 and (2) 795.

(*ii*) A certain number will be discontinued.

(*c*) No. The District Magistrate assessed education tax under section 34 of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930, after inquiry by Presidents, Union Boards, and Circle Officers.

(*d*) No. Several petitions both from Hindus and Muslims were received for revision of the assessment made by the District Magistrate. They were disposed of after proper enquiry. Assessment was revised wherever necessary.

(*e*) Does not arise.

The Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Second Amendment) Bill, 1940.

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Sir, I beg to present the report of the Select Committee on the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Second Amendment) Bill, 1940.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

Mrs. HASINA MURSHED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is not without trepidation that I rise to express my views on this very important piece of legislation which, if enacted, will have a very far-reaching effect on the secondary education of this province. Sir, I have no pretensions to expert knowledge on educational matters. I will, therefore, refrain from attempting at an examination of the Bill which has been very carefully, though not sympathetically, done by some of my colleagues on the floor of this House. Sir, I have listened to the opponents of the Bill not only with attention and interest, but also with respect. As far as I could gather, Sir, the gravamen of their criticisms against the

Bill is that it is, in the first place, a communal measure, and, secondly, it seeks to transfer control from the university to a body which has been characterised as more political than educational.

Sir, in fact, in the last analysis, both the criticisms are based upon the one and the only ground that in the proposed Board of Secondary Education, the Muslim community has been given greater representation than what the opponents of the Bill would have been pleased to give.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is nothing short of a tragedy that the criticisms should have proceeded from those who claim to think of Muslims and Hindus as inseparable and integral parts of one and the same nation. Assuming, but not admitting, that Muslims have been given greater representation than they are entitled to, does it lie in the mouth of the nationalists to cavil at a measure, because a few seats have been given to the Muslims? If the critics of the Bill find it hard to tolerate the existence of a few Muslims on this Board, may I most respectfully ask them as to what feelings the Muslims should entertain regarding the administration of the university hitherto monopolised practically by the non-Muslim community since the days of its creation? One of the most distressing features of our present day politics is the most inappropriate use of the expression "communalism." When a measure is not wanted and when there are no arguments to condemn it, it has got to be characterised as a communal measure. That is the only argument which appeals to the sentiments. In the present case too, Sir, the argument that the Bill is a communal one is in my opinion an *argumentum ad hominum*. I would, therefore, appeal to the opponents of the Bill not to give the dog a bad name just to hang him.

Secondly, education which affects all the communities in this province has hitherto been controlled practically by one particular community with consequences, Sir, which are too obvious to be mentioned. (Cries of "Hear! hear" from the Coalition Benches.) The time has now arrived when the principle of self-determination so glibly advocated in the political sphere should apply to the sphere of education as well. Muslims who constitute the majority of the population in this province must have the right to determine the type of education which is best suited to their religion and to their culture.

One word, Sir, and I have done. It is a matter of gratification for us women that the Bill provides for the representation on the Board of women whose education exercises great influence on the progress and well-being of the nation. May I, however, express the hope that it will be possible for the Select Committee, though it does not unfortunately include any woman representative, to increase their representation on the proposed Board.

With these few words I support the motion moved by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. (Loud applause.)

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: In rising to oppose the motions for circulation of the Bill moved by our esteemed friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, I would frankly say at the outset that I can understand the vested interests which Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri represents, but I cannot understand my esteemed friend Mr. Abdul Hakeem supporting this motion, who apparently has deluded himself or perhaps does not know what he says or does not say what he means! Personally, I felt pity to hear his speech, coming as it does from a disappointed man. Perhaps it was said of these people that, "they have eyes but they do not see—they have ears but they do not hear." He has evidently lost his vision through disappointment or any other ground whatsoever. My friends opposite, particularly our esteemed colleague, Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, said the other day that the Secondary Education Bill came to their knowledge only the other day, when it was published in the "Calcutta Gazette." My friends conveniently forget that the provisions of the Bill were being discussed threadbare both in press and platform long before it was formally published. As a matter of fact, the Bill has not come as a surprise. The entire country was agitating and agitating for the establishment of a Board for Secondary Education since when the present Government came into existence On the contrary, certain newspapers which represent the Caste Hindu mentality were criticising it since then. As a matter of fact, they were composing the Ramayana even before Ram was born.

Our esteemed colleague, Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, with his usual high class oratory describes the Bill as a Cobra Bill, but I would respectfully ask him to lay his hand on his breast and say whether there has been a continued agitation for the Secondary Board, whether there are genuine grievances against the dual-control of the university and the Government, and whether the people other than a certain section of the Caste Hindus have got grievances against the university, which I am constrained to say, has on the face or on the symbol the innocent lotus, but to my mind it struck me that the motto although unwritten is or has been, "Look like the innocent flower but be the serpent under it." From under the innocent surface of the lotus leaves the cobra is being pulled out, and this legislation is only a mild attempt to destroy the fangs and the poison of the snake. It falls far short of killing the cobra with its beautiful hood. If the control of the Matriculation Examination was adopted by the Board according to the country's demand, the cobra under the innocent looking lotus would be killed. Then the lotus as it is at present without the

"*sree*" would be as innocent as it looks like. Professional agitators and vested interests who have ulterior political motives against the present ministry have been delivering venomous speeches decrying the Bill as a communal piece of legislation as they have done in the case of other Bills which have passed into law for the amelioration of the masses. Some, however, who have the good sense not to describe the Bill as communal still maintain that it will officialise education. Both the Secondary Board and its Executive Council will have a predominating non-official element. If in spite of this secondary education gets officialised, the fault will be the province's and not the Bill's. The Board does not become an official body because the Government sets it up at the first instance. Who else will set it up? Why should not this Secondary Board—as a distinct body—work like all other self-governing institutions? A large majority of people including the All-Bengal Teachers' Association deprecate the dual control in no uncertain terms. But in the Conference of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association it was held that the time however was not opportune on account of the war conditions. Dr. Syama Prasad was one of the distinguished speakers in this Conference which was evidently arranged to discuss the Bill. The plea of war or other conditions are lame excuses for those people who have refused co-operation in the prosecution of the war. Anyway, I need not go over the other grounds which have been so ably put forward by my friend Mr. Syed Badrudduja the other day. This Bill is a belated measure so far as Bengal is concerned. War or no war, this brooks no further delay. In spite of all the dilatory tactics of the vested interests and the unwillingness of the university to part with some of its autocratic powers, we must proceed at the call of the country as a whole and in view of the greater interests of the people at large. Sir, it is not for me to tell you that over 20 years ago the Sadler Commission recommended the establishment of a Secondary Board and the Hon'ble Minister for Education has told us on the floor of the House, how Government knew no rest and how they failed in the past in their repeated efforts to materialise the scheme owing to the dilatory tactics and unwillingness of the Calcutta University to part with its power in this respect. It does not lie now in the mouths of the supporters of the university to blame the Government. They could themselves have put up a better scheme if they had so willed and if they had the interests of the country at heart of which they speak so glibly. Apart from making money out of examination fees and the sale of prescribed text-books, the Calcutta University did absolutely nothing for expansion or control of secondary education in the province. Sir, I know of many quarrels between two neighbouring high schools. The Calcutta University instead of settling these quarrels or controlling the institutions with a strong hand at one time supported one institution and at another time another institution, owing to machinations and the

moving of wheels within wheels and influences from within or without. It has unfortunately become a coterie and people are gradually losing confidence in the university in certain matters. Yesterday I was amazed to find a challenge thrown out by the esteemed Leader of the Opposition to set up a separate National Secondary Board and to disobey the provisions of the Bill when they are passed into law. Curiously enough it strikes me as if Mr. Bose is advocating another Pakisthan or Napakisthan for education in Bengal. All right, Sir. We Mussalmans would not mind it. We rather welcome it. We are described as communal, but if anyone reads the speeches of the smaller or bigger fries of the Opposition delivered in any of the meetings held in Calcutta he will find which party is communal. They do not stop short of performing the burial and *sradh* of the Mussalmans in their mad orgy of faked-up agitation. Still the Mussalmans are branded as communal. In this connection, I am tempted to take up some of the points put forward by Mr. Hakeem of Khulna who, while criticising the Bill said—"some more Muslim members on the managing committee of a high school won't do any good. I want more schools and more money," if I heard him all right. The Board will start with a fund of about 26 lakhs to begin with and there is provision for further grants by Government. As a matter of fact, the resources of the Board are bound to expand gradually with grants and endowments. As regards more schools, my friend Mr. Hakeem ought to know that there are places even now where there are more schools than are really needed and there are none where it is badly wanted. In one Gournadi thana of my district there are about 15 or 16 affiliated high schools but jealousies, disputes, quarrels and litigations have been going on between the schools within a distance of one mile or of less than one mile. As a result some people have been ruined or are going to be ruined. The university, as I told you already, has miserably failed to control, or look to the efficiency of the schools; on the other hand, their sympathies have moved like the pendulum of a clock. There are a thousand and one instances where firm control is necessary. The evils of dual-control must go for ever. Certainly it will be the primary duty of the Secondary Board, if it has any meaning, to devise ways and means of expansion of secondary education, particularly in "unschooled" areas. According to Mr. Hakeem more Muslim members on the managing committee won't do. I can cite instances of high schools where Hindu-ridden managing committees would not admit or allow adequate and sometimes even any representation of Muslim interests on the managing committees even where there are a sufficient number of Muslim boys in and Muslim population around the school, who have put in sacrifices for the institution. I heard Mr. Hakeem saying—"there is nobody on earth who denies adequate representation of Muslim interests in public institutions."

It is news to us, Sir. I can cite glaring instances, however, where the Hindu majority will nominate and select such a Muslim to serve on the committee as will always ditto their views and will serve as "yesman" or henchman. This is the case in all the bigger so-called national organizations where the Hindus preponderate and where Muslims are treated in the same way. Some Muslim showboys are found everywhere and they sing to their master's voice and this worst form of communalism masquerades in the name of nationalism. Will Mr. Hakeem be surprised to hear that in one high school affiliated to the Calcutta University, the managing committee could not appoint one Maulvi even as an Arabic and Persian teacher, as a result of which the Muslim students have been compelled to take up Sanskrit as their second language. (Cries of "Shame! shame!") Besides, they regard the appointment of a Muslim as an ordinary assistant teacher as if it were a crime. If Mr. Hakeem had eyes to see he might see how the Muslim boys are treated as untouchables in the matter of arrangement for drinking water. He would see in certain schools a Hindu *duftry* pouring water from a mug in a tin glass to a Muslim boy who is forbidden to touch the water jars or even to enter the hut where they are kept. These boys are made to stand in the sun and rain and thus made to drink water in a standing posture. There is no provision for a prayer room for Muslim boys to say their *zohur* or afternoon prayers The school authorities have never entertained such a proposal They have been heard to say that if Muslim boys are allowed to pray in a room that room would be regarded as a mosque after some days But nobody ever prevented them from performing the *Saraswati Pujah* inside a school building or maintaining the idol throughout the year in a public institution, although the authorities would not allow any *Milad Sherif* to be performed within the school building. This is how these impressionable young Muslim boys are compelled to start their lives with an inferiority complex which I am afraid is bound to last long and is also bound to reflect in their subsequent life. By an irony of fate they are made to feel that everything great is Hindu and everything small is Muslim. This is how Muslim culture is attempted to be destroyed and as a matter of fact unfortunately among the younger members of our community there are boys and even adults who feel happy if they can pass for a Hindu. I have found that Muslim boys have not the courage to put on a Muslim dress or even a cap in a Hindu-ridden school and do not dare say their prayers in a school compound even if they would like to, and why? Because they are made to feel that they are pariahs in their own land! It is not uncommon that Muslim boys have even to pay their subscription for the *Saraswati Pujah*. Mr. Hakeem would still say that some Muslim members or some books of Muslim authors won't do, and he speaks

derisively of control by the Secondary Board or an independent body, to determine the rules of proper management of secondary schools and deal out justice evenly between man and man. They will supervise the general administration and not allow the schools to play an uncontrolled game. Either the Government or the university have failed hitherto to control secondary education and so has arisen the urgent necessity of setting up a Board. Mr. Hakeem decries the nomination system in the Board. In a Board of 50 there will be 3 women and 11 male persons nominated of whom 5 will be Muslims and 8 Hindus and 1 European. Where then is the Hindu's fear? As a matter of fact, Muslims want more and more representation on the Board than it has been given them in the Bill. There is a certain amount of discontent on that account as well as on account of the Matriculation Examination not being brought under the control of the Secondary Education Board. I only pray that Mr. Hakeem and people of his ilk may find out the right path and be not led away by any other consideration than the interests of the country and the community. Lastly, Sir, before I resume my seat, I would draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to clause 35 of the Bill, viz., in regard to the objects to which the Secondary Education Fund shall be applicable. The payment of any grant-in-aid to hostels for secondary schools has not been mentioned

These hostels are necessary particularly to the Muslim and Scheduled Caste students who have got very few relations to live with outside or can afford to pay the entire cost of fooding and boarding charges.

With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

Mr. UPENDRA NATH BARMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must thank you for affording the Scheduled Caste Independent Party an opportunity to express their opinion on this vital measure I am authorised by my Party to express it which is not altogether based on our personal limitations, likes and dislikes, but is based on our assumptions of the wider, popular will of the Scheduled Castes outside the House. First of all, Sir, there has been raised the question whether we approve of the principles of this Bill irrespective of its provisions. Some of our objections have been stated by my friend Mr. Thakur, but, Sir, it is our majority decision that we approve of the principle, of course as we understand the same. We recognise that by this measure the Government of the day is assuming a greater control on secondary education. Out of 50 members of the Board 11 are *ex-officio* officials and quasi-officials and 14 are appointed. Another 25 members are elected members on the Board. To an outsider the arrangement of check and balance between the administrative body on the one hand and the political authority on the other would

seem to be the most equitable, under ordinary circumstances. But, Sir, it may be truly said that the conditions of Bengal are not to be assessed on seemingly normal lines. Here the political party is sharply distributed into a few communal parties that are warring against one another not on general political principles but on communal considerations. Nevertheless, Sir, we on this side of the House, I mean the Scheduled Caste members of the Independent Party, think that Government as it is constituted to-day is a democratic form of Government. All shades of opinion are represented in it, and if at all we have to trust anybody, we shall trust the Government or ourselves in formulating and in guiding the destiny of the Bengalee nation and guiding the secondary education of this province. I shall, first of all, deal with the defects and the shortcomings that we find in the present control of the secondary education. I shall not dilate on the economic, constitutional and various other matters, of which I confess I am little aware, but from our simple minds and from our simple judgment of the conditions that are existing in Bengal, we see that the present state of affairs is not at all satisfactory. It is satisfactory no doubt on the ground that a section in Bengal has made much advance, but, Sir, we think that the necessity of the times demands that there must be an all-round progress throughout the whole province, irrespective of caste, creed or social status and position To solve such a problem, the present body of control which as we know come from the higher strata of society, and who are more interested in university education and higher walks of life, readerships and chairs, are not fit. We think that they are not competent to tackle the problem which obtains in rural parts of Bengal. But the Government which is represented by all sorts of opinions is certainly competent to criticise, to improvise and fulfil what is required for the uniform progress of the province of Bengal. That is one consideration. Of course, we glory in the progress that has been made by some communities in Bengal, but at the same time we are not satisfied that the great mass of this province has not been given the attention that it deserves. There is another aspect in respect of which we want control. We find, Sir, that though a few favoured and better placed communities have earned good names throughout the world and in this province in particular, yet the majority of them are smouldering in dust for want of opportunities. The system of secondary education as it obtains to-day in Bengal has made most of them fit only for university education. By the present method and system of secondary education, we have been sending to universities thousands of students every year. In other practical walks of life we find a few of the employed are carrying on somehow but those that remain unemployed lead a life of destitution and misery. These unemployed youths being unfit for any other vocation than that of quill-driving and being in most cases of unsound health become a pitiful sight, a burden to the family and a positive loss to the nation

as a whole. This is also an unsatisfactory state of things. We feel that there must be a change in the system of secondary education, and that our youths must not only be fit to enter the portals of the university, but also be independent to the extent that if they do not find any job, they may be fit enough to maintain themselves by following other avocations in life.

Sir, there is another point which though minor, yet is not unimportant. At present, there is no definite plan underlying the territorial distribution of secondary schools. There are extensive tracts and districts which have not been served with a middle English and high English school. I can speak of my own district of Jalpaiguri, where within a distance of 65 miles there is not a single high school and there are only four or five middle English schools. It has been found by practical experience, that by starting a middle English school in one place the number of students has doubled and multiplied. This only proves that the rural population is now quite alive to educational needs, but they have not got facilities for secondary education. That is a state of affairs which we think can be remedied by the Government alone and not by others who are less concerned with the rural population. But, Sir, though we support the principle of this Bill as I have enunciated generally, that does not mean that we support every provision of this Bill The provisions of this Bill must be made clear to us so that we may know that the defects that we are suffering from are going to be remedied by the proposed measure. The Bill, as it has been presented to us, does not clearly say that these defects are going to be remedied by the Government. We want to be clear on that and we want to study the Bill further, to see whether the seeds of improvement are in the Bill or not. It is for that reason that we have decided that we cannot at present support the Select Committee motion, but in our opinion, the Bill should be circulated for public opinion. The Bill has been published in the "Calcutta Gazette" on the 1st of August, and it is only a few days ago that the Bill has been circulated to the members of this Assembly This Assembly was preoccupied with other important and controversial business, and we, the lesser mortals, have to confess that we have not had time to go through all the provisions and understand the various implications that are contained in it. Moreover, there is the public outside this House. We find by passing of this Bill we are going to make a revolutionary change, and it is only fair and equitable that our electorates should be asked to give their opinion. We cannot assume all responsibility and arrogate to ourselves all wisdom and go on our own way. What is the harm if the Bill is circulated for public opinion and the public opinion obtained within the course of this year. If we could wait for 20 long years, what is the harm if we wait for one or two months more? Why is this indecent haste? That makes us suspicious about the aims and

objects of this Bill. After all, there are various institutions and organisations in the country which will be affected by this Bill. There are at least 1,400 high English schools and there are many eminent educational institutions, who can certainly be invited to give opinion on the provisions of this measure. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister has declared emphatically that this is not a communal measure. We take him at his word. But, Sir, why does he want to shut out the outside public from giving their opinions on this measure. If we get opinions from outside, it will only help us in this Legislature and the Select Committee to sit in judgment and make this Bill as perfect as possible.

I shall not deal with the constitution of the Board at length, but I shall only make a few remarks. It has already been dealt with by my friend Mr. Thakur the other day, and I shall, therefore, be brief on that point. Sir, the fact is this. Sir, in the Board that is going to be constituted and in the Executive Council there is not one to safeguard the interest of the Scheduled Castes; I mean, a permanent official entrusted with Scheduled Caste education. Sir, if the Bill be rushed in through the Select Committee our representative will not get sufficient considered counsel in the matter and the Select Committee will have to act on its own wisdom. Had they got the opinions of the wider public at their disposal, we think that they would have been better equipped to proceed with this onerous task

As I have said, we recognise that there is in the personnel of either the Board or of the Executive Committee no one of the officials especially entitled with the Scheduled Castes education. The efficacy of the creation of such a post and his inclusion in the said Board and Council is of immense value to the Scheduled Castes We invite the ministry's attention to this aspect of the matter.

Our party gives considerable importance to another aspect, which goads us to support the motion for circulation. It has been made clear that the whole of the Caste Hindu community is incensed with a sense of wrong supposed to be perpretated against them. Rightly or wrongly, they think so. If they are right, the four months that will be taken by the acceptance of the circulation motion will be sufficient to allow them to prove the allegations before the bar of public opinion and to the satisfaction of the House. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister has categorically stated that this is not a communal measure intended to wrong any community unjustly. So, Sir, this House is in a position to reconsider it here and now. But if they are wrong, I do only hope that a great and elevated community, in which there are hundreds of sensible and nationalist-minded people, will recognise the need of the moment, the demand for justice and fairplay, the essentials of democracy, for which one of their sections had made enormous contributions. This is a perilous time in view of the World War. Any

faction will only bring disaster to Bengal if she be plunged into communal strife, ignoring its duty elsewhere. Besides, the communal jealousy and misunderstanding will considerably hamper the laudable object of the Bill itself. Time may heal the bitterness of the moment. To-day, I find that the Caste Hindus have decided to non-co-operate with the Select Committee. To-morrow, it is not impossible that the great community may reconsider its position and modify its views. After all, they are pressing for a just and equitable constitutional procedure, and we do not understand why it is anticipated that the heavens will fall if four months be added to 20 long years. With their co-operation the Bill stands the chance of an improvement. We want good-will to be established between all the influential sections of this House. We do only hope that the European Party will give the correct decision in a momentous matter like this.

We on our part, Sir, support the circulation motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri and oppose the Select Committee motion at this stage. (Cheers from Congress Benches.)

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Sir, I would prefer to go to the microphone.

Mr. SPEAKER: This is your maiden speech?

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Not quite. (Laughter.) Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope you will agree that I have never wasted the time of this House and incidentally my own time in trying to influence the honourable members opposite. In my twenty years' experience of public life, fairly active public life, I have learnt one fundamental lesson of politics and it is this. You may have justice on your side; you may have logic on your side; you may have eloquence on your side; but if you have no votes, nobody will listen to you. I realised, Sir, from the beginning that this cabinet supported by a communal and permanent majority---(Cries of "Oh! oh!" from the Coalition Benches.) I repeat, Sir, this cabinet supported by a communal and permanent majority, aided and abetted by the European section of this House, sure of the loyal footwork of their followers in passing through the right lobby, was never in a mood to listen to arguments. After all, Sir, what is the proposal of my friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. It is a modest proposal--a proposal that the Bill, which is a controversial one, should be circulated before it is brought forward for the consideration of this House. Sir, listening to the speeches from the other side, it seemed to me that most of the members speaking against this motion forgot the subject-matter of the discussion. Speaker after speaker got up to speak and spoke most eloquently and absolutely irrelevantly about the

misdeeds of the Calcutta University. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Congress Benches.) I know, Sir, who are the targets of these attacks. My friends Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Mr. P. N. Banerjee were the targets of these attacks. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee is quite able to take care of himself, and I know, Sir, that when he will speak later on he will be able to meet all the points that have been mentioned by the honourable members opposite. As regards my esteemed and inoffensive friend Mr. P. N. Banerjee, as he already had his say, he would not be able to reply to the attacks made subsequent to his speech. Therefore, Sir, I would like to say one thing in mitigation of any sentence which honourable members may pass on him as being responsible for the misdeeds of the Calcutta University.

I say, Sir, Mr. P. N. Banerjee was not responsible for the Calcutta University Act. It is an open secret, not unknown I hope even to the members opposite, that when Lord Curzon passed this Act he did not consult either Mr. P. N. Banerjee or Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. (Laughter.) Sir, as regards ourselves, we are not very much enamoured of the Calcutta University Act The constitution of the University is based on nomination. We are against nomination on principle. But, Sir, can anybody deny, can anybody in his senses deny that this instrument of slavery in the hands of a great man like Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee became an instrument of freedom? (Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: "Hear! hear!") I was not surprised, Sir, at any speeches delivered by members opposite, but I was pained, greatly pained and surprised, at the speech which my most lamented friend Mr Abu Hossain Sarkar delivered the other day. (Laughter.)

I hope Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar is here now (A voice: "Yes, he is here; he is listening to your speech".) Sir, the first charge that he brought against the university was that he was made to read a book like "England's Work in India." Now that I hope his anger has a little subsided, I ask him, does he mean to say, that the official Board that this Bill proposes to establish will prescribe any book better than that? He made much of the point that Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Acharya P. C. Roy called the University "*golamkhana*." That is true, Sir. But these great men did not criticise any particular institution; they criticised the whole educational system which has been enforced upon us by our foreign masters for their own convenience. And if Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das had been alive to-day, does Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar mean to say that he would have welcomed this piece of legislation as a progressive realisation of the great ideal of national education that he had in view? (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: "Hear! hear!") Sir, what is the use of this kind of sophistry? Why bring in a great name for the purpose of your fallacious argument? Deshbandhu Das is no more with us. But you also mention the name of Acharya Sir P. C. Roy. Fortunately for us he is

still with us. Would you stand by his judgment on this Bill? Would you refer this Bill for his opinion? If you really care for his opinion, if you really love his opinion as much as you say you do, I would advise you to send this Bill for circulation so that not only Acharya Sir P. C. Roy but all the veteran educationists may express their opinion on this Bill. But, Sir, I am sure if they express their opinion against this Bill—which I am sure they will—the Hon'ble Chief Minister will treat that opinion with great contempt, saying that that opinion is the outcome of prejudicial minds. Therefore, Sir, it is no use referring to and quoting great authorities.

My friend Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar remembers the name of a paltry book he had to read, but he forgot to tell you that it was this much maligned University of Calcutta which forced the Lieutenant-Governor of a province to resign on the question of affiliation of a school. If you remember that book, you should have remembered Sirajganj also. Sir, everybody knows that when Sir Bamfylde Fuller, annoyed with the boys of Sirajganj School because they were not prepared to give him a reception, demanded that the Sirajganj School should be disaffiliated, the university flatly refused to do it. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from Congress Benches.) What do you think would be the position of any school under this Board if it did anything half as seditious as was done by the boys of the Sirajganj School? I am sure, there would not be the ghost of a chance of the school retaining its affiliation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, coming to the Bill itself, my first objection is that this is a Bill miscalled an "Education Bill"—It is really a Political Bill. Sir, I have read this Bill carefully clause by clause. I have gone through the speech—the opening speech of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister—there is not a word of secondary education. I believe, Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister thought that not having any educational policy of his own the next best thing would be to appoint a Board and ask that Board to find a policy for him. Sir, before we pass this Bill we would like to know whether this cabinet stands for expansion or for limitation of secondary education. I ask this pointedly. I ask this because I remember, in 1935, in a Conference at the Government House the Special Officer Dr. Jenkins, the keeper of the educational conscience of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister—rather a hard task—suggested that 400 schools were sufficient for the education of this province. Remember there are 1,400 schools to-day, but Dr. Jenkins in the plentitude of his wisdom thought that 400 schools would be enough for Bengal, and even more ominous is that the exact sum of Rs. 25 lakhs was mentioned as sufficient for the secondary education of Bengal. So I ask pointedly—let the cabinet tell us whether they stand for expansion or for limitation of secondary education. I would like to know further whether they stand for vocational education or for literary education, whether they stand for

classical education or for modern and scientific education. I hope, Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister when he replies will make it perfectly clear to the House what the cabinet stands for in the matter of secondary education in schools. So, Sir, my first objection to this Bill is that this is a Bill without any policy behind it.

Sir, my second objection to this Bill is that this Bill seeks to officialise the secondary education of Bengal (Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: "What is the third?") Don't be impatient. I am coming to that and you will not like it. These illuminating remarks do not touch me in the least.

Sir, as I was saying, my second objection to this Bill is that it seeks to officialise the Board of Secondary Education. It has been pointed out that out of the 50 members composing this Education Board 25 are either official or quasi-official, 25 go through some sort of election, and we are not satisfied with that sort of election.

Sir, there is one point I would like to mention here. We know that seven members will be elected to the Board by this House, and three, as far as I remember, from the Upper House. Now, Sir, there is no mention about the procedure of this election. If the procedure is election by majority votes and I have no doubt that is the procedure intended, then I am sure not a single member of the Opposition would be elected to this Board, not even my friend Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from Congress Benches.)

Now, look at the Executive Council. In the Executive Council which will give effect to the policy, out of 14 members 8 are officials. So, Sir, can it be pretended that the Bill does not seek to officialise secondary education in Bengal? Before we are asked to hand over the entire charge of the secondary education to this Board, are we not entitled to examine the records of the Government in this matter? Out of 1,400 schools—I am confining myself to the high schools—only 49 are Government schools. (Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: "Hear! hear!") 600 schools, I believe, not more than 600, receive some sort of aid. The entire secondary education of Bengal has been brought into existence and is being supported by the public. What is the record of the Government that to-day we shall hand over the entire management to the Government?

My third objection is that you have introduced communalism into education. Read the clauses about the committees. There is a wonderful refrain—so and so committee will have so many Muslims and so many Hindus and out of that so many Scheduled Castes. You read clause by clause and you find that refrain. For myself, Sir, I got so used to that refrain that I was surprised not to find a clause about successful candidates—that of the successful candidates, so many shall

be Muslims and so many shall be Hindus of which so many shall be Scheduled Castes. I suppose, Sir, that is a mistake which will be corrected by the wonderful Select Committee!

Sir, out of the 50 members of the Board, it has been pointed out, 22 are Hindus, 20 Muslims and 7 or 8 Europeans. Why the Europeans come in passes my comprehension, passes my understanding. I suppose, Sir, it is the old story of the proverbial monkey having his share of the cheese! Anyway, it is known, it is very well known, that out of 1,400 schools 1,200 schools were established by Hindus; out of more than 3 lakhs of students reading in those schools less than 80,000 are Muhammadans. That is the state of affairs, and the Hon'ble the Chief Minister with his usual courage of no conviction told us that he had been generous to the Hindus, that he had been overgenerous to the Hindus. I am sorry I have to enter into this aspect of the question. We the Congressmen at least try not to be communal in our outlook and if we the Hindus have established these schools I realise we have only done our duty. It is not a matter of pride, at least I am not trying to make it a matter of pride, but if you attack my community, then you force me to say things which perhaps may not be pleasant to the honourable gentlemen opposite.

Next I come to the President of the Board. My objection to the Board is that it is a one man's show. The President of the Board is the Titan on whose shoulders the entire secondary education of Bengal rests. He as the President of the Board finds a policy for the Hon'ble Minister. He as the President of the Executive Council gives effect to that policy. He as the President of the Finance Committee finds the finance. He as the President of the Syllabus Committee selects books; he as the President of the Publication Committee gets writers to write books and publishes them. I do not know whether you will be able to find anybody with such universal genius anywhere. The only chance of making this Board a success is after the crushing defeat of Germany. Do not send Adolph Hitler to St. Helena or wherever you propose to send him. Bring him here and offer him this job, because after all if you establish a totalitarian state in the shape of an Education Board there must be a Fuhrer.

Sir, I have nearly finished. I support the motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri for circulation. After all, this Bill was not published more than a few weeks ago. I have told the House that more than 3 lakhs of boys read in these schools, and their guardians ought to be given a chance to say what sort of education they want for their boys. In those schools there are several thousands of teachers who should also be consulted. And what would you lose by doing this? The Hon'ble the Chief Minister has stated that he has the public behind him—the public, mind you, not the public which have expressed their views but the public which never express their

views. He has the press behind him—not the press which has circulation but the press which is subsidised but has no circulation. Anyway, what is he afraid of? I know he is afraid of nothing. Therefore, I appeal to him to accept this motion for circulation.

Mr. Speaker, I support the motion moved by my friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. (Loud applause from the Congress Benches.)

Dr. H. C. MUKHERJI: Those who have studied the history of education in Bengal cannot but be aware of the valuable work done in the sphere of primary, secondary and collegiate education by the schools and colleges under missionary control situated in different parts of our province. If education has spread in Bengal, it is largely because it was encouraged and educational facilities of different types provided by European missionaries. I need hardly draw your attention to the fact that to-day many of the teachers of educational institutions controlled by the different missionary organisations are largely staffed by men and women of our community and to this extent we are vitally interested in the Secondary Education Bill.

We have in India to-day an organisation known as the National Christian Council which has its jurisdiction all over India, Burma and Ceylon. This body has branches in every province of India including Bengal. The National Christian Council publishes a directory every year in which, among other things, it gives information about the various beneficent institutions controlled by the different missionary organisations. The National Christian Council is what we call a union of all the Protestant organisations. The Roman Catholic Church also publishes a directory on similar lines and this too gives the above kind of information. According to the latest editions of these two directories, the different Protestant denominations as well as the various religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church are maintaining 51 high English and 86 middle English and middle vernacular schools. These include schools for boys and girls. 102 hostels are attached to these 137 secondary schools. About 12½ per cent. of the students are Christians and 87½ per cent. non-Christians. The total number of students in these schools has, for the last few years, varied beween 28,500 to 30,000 of whom Indian Christian students have never been more than 3,000. It is therefore evident that these educational institutions are benefiting non-Christians more than Christians and they have succeeded in attracting such large numbers of non-Christian students only on account of their superior efficiency as centres of teaching, for their superior discipline and their general superior atmosphere.

While a majority among the teachers are Indians, Christian and non-Christian, the men and women in charge are nearly always non-Indians. I admit that in the past any European was regarded as

sufficiently qualified to act as the head of these educational institutions. But it is not so now. In the Protestant schools to-day under British control, we find M.A.'s of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. And, what is more, a majority of these gentlemen and lady missionaries hold teaching diplomas. So far as the Roman Catholic educational institutions are concerned, it is perhaps known to many that, under the rules of the religious orders to which priests and nuns belong, they are given their education in their own colleges in Europe. Any one who has taken the trouble to familiarise himself with the courses of study imposed on the students of these Catholic colleges and knows something about the intensive training, theoretical and practical, they have to undergo, must admit that the educational standards maintained in these special institutions are in no way inferior to those maintained in secular universities.

In my own mind I always classify non-Indians who come into our country under two categories—those who come to India to earn and those who come here to give us the best of what they have. Among the former are included non-Indians who come here as Government servants as well as those others who come here as businessmen. I am not one of those who envy the money earned in India by non-Indians, for I recognise the undeniable fact that this is due to our own unfitness which has rendered possible what some call the "economic exploitation" of India. As an Indian, I would of course like to see the money earned here by non-Indians retained in our motherland, and I feel happy when I remember that we are gradually learning how to fend for ourselves. While every fair-minded Indian must feel grateful for the services, direct and indirect, rendered by non-Indians of this category, he cannot forget the equally important fact that India has to pay and to pay rather heavily for the services rendered to her. In my view, those non-Indians who come here not to take but to give stand in a class by themselves and that is why India ought to feel grateful to them. It is not perhaps known to many that very highly qualified Protestant missionaries, male and female, draw not what I would call salaries but subsistence wages all through their lives. I occupy something of a position in the Baptist denomination and have non-Indian missionary friends belonging to practically every Protestant denomination, and I know that what I have just said is a fact. Then, again, these allowances as I prefer to call them, are not met out of funds collected or raised in India. They are all met from the resources of the various European and American Boards of Management all located abroad. The result of this arrangement is that India is to-day getting the services of about 10,000 highly educated and properly qualified non-Indian people without having to spend a single pice for them. Of

these about 850 are with us in Bengal to-day, fully a fourth of whom are connected with some form or other of teaching.

The services rendered by these unselfish Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries do not end here. For whenever capital expenditure has to be incurred for erecting buildings and providing equipment, no matter whether it be a school, a college, a dispensary, a hospital, an agricultural, an industrial or a technical school, a home for the blind or one for lepers, practically the whole of it is collected abroad and spent in India. It would perhaps surprise many to learn that to-day the Protestant denominations alone are maintaining about 17,000 beneficent institutions of various types including educational institutions at an annual recurring cost of over 2 crores 90 lakhs, and that merely one crore and a half of this annual recurring cost is being contributed by England and America and other non-Indian countries.

So far as the Roman Catholic institutions are concerned, I have been assured by one occupying a very high position in the Catholic hierarchy that the Catholic Church is maintaining nearly an equal number of institutions at nearly the same annual recurring cost. It is only fair that I should add that, as unlike Protestant missionaries, Roman Catholic priests and nuns have no families to support, they draw only their actual expenses. Anyone who, like myself, has seen the humble standard of living maintained for instance by the Jesuit and the Salesian fathers of Calcutta, the priests of the Order of the Holy Cross at Dacca and of the secular fathers of St. Anthony School, of the Loreto nuns of Calcutta and of the Daughters of the Cross at Kurseong must admit that in them Providence has given us a set of unselfish men and women eager to serve us and that without any expense to us.

Such men and women, Protestant and Catholic, are in charge of the 137 secondary schools already referred to by me. After careful calculation I find that, taking all of them together, out of every 10 rupees spent on the maintenance of these institutions, Government contributes about Re. 1-12 to Rs. 2; fees realised from students are responsible for about Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 4, and the balance comes from the funds provided by the different Protestant missionary societies and Roman Catholic orders. These figures, let me repeat again, take no account of the capital expenditure.

I have also to remind you that while about 12½ per cent. of the students are Christians, the rest never less than 87½ per cent. are non-Christians. I know as a matter of fact, that many non-Christians, Hindu and Mussalman, occupying high and fairly high positions to-day owe the education which has enabled them to acquire these positions to the concessions enjoyed by them as students in one or other of the educational institutions under missionary control. Nor would it be

correct to assume that these institutions are being maintained as a means of direct Christian propaganda for the purpose of encouraging change of faith among their students. Some of these institutions have been in existence for half a century and more and tangible results, in the shape of open conversion to Christianity for which figures are available for successive years, are far from encouraging. And yet these institutions are being liberally financed because those who contribute the funds in countries outside India as well as those who work in our midst have felt the call to unselfish work

I have said all this by way of proof of my contention that if it is the desire of those responsible for this Bill to have impartial opinion on its merits from a detached source which is above the slightest suspicion of partiality or prejudice we have, in these missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, highly educated non-Indian men and women actually engaged in the work of education and fully qualified to offer us invaluable assistance in making the Bill a piece of legislation which will serve the best interests of our province Then, again in the Bengal Board of Christian Education affiliated to the National Christian Council, we have an organization where educational experts can discuss the different clauses of the Bill and offer us their suggestions This is a Protestant organization, but I am almost certain that the Roman Catholics have their own organization parallel to this

This Bill has already provoked discussion and probably given rise to a certain amount of misunderstanding, if not downright ill-will. While some claim that it aims at providing a better machinery for the control of secondary education, others are equally emphatic in maintaining that it has been framed with a mischievous purpose I do not have any desire to say just now which of these two conflicting opinions is correct or even whether the truth lies somewhere between the two.

At a time when there is war and bloodshed, it does not behove those who love peace to say or to do anything calculated to add to the tremendous burden humanity is already carrying It is therefore that I am pleading that in order to materially diminish if not to abolish that lack of harmony which has already manifested itself over this controversial piece of legislation, we should seek advice from qualified and impartial quarters and one such I maintain consists of non-Indian missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, engaged in education.

Let me, before I sit down, say that I was at Bankura last week in connection with educational work now being carried on by the Bankura Christian College and Collegiate School I found that in the latter there are two Englishmen, both Oxford men, with teaching diplomas who have been teaching there for years. In the same town, there is a girls' middle school where the head is a lady missionary who is a graduate of another British university and also holds the Cambridge

Diploma in Teaching. No one would ever dream that people such as these have any axe of their own to grind or that any suggestion they might offer would be coloured by Hindu, Muslim or Indian Christian prejudice. From a talk with them I understood that all the knowledge they have about the present Bill is drawn from a summary of it which appeared recently in a local Anglo-Indian daily. Surely, if we have any desire to do things in the right spirit, we should take advantage of the presence of such men and women among us. I would therefore appeal to Government to circulate the Bill at least among the class to which I have referred and to proceed with the work we have in hand after they have been given an opportunity of helping us with their suggestions.

Mr. ABDUR RASCHID MAHMOOD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940. Such a measure had been long overdue. I congratulate the Government for taking in hand such an important piece of legislation when it is much more needed than ever. The Bill has the lucky star of being sponsored and manœuvred by the prime mover of the Government. Only the grim irony is this, that where the Bill should have been soaked and sweetened in milk of human heart, it is in those quarters that the Bill is getting sapped in bitter secretion. In the name of the nation and on the plea of a minority, a minority that claims in season and out of season to have made what Bengal is to-day, our Hindu brethren frequently dissociate themselves with the popular Government in matters which vitally bear on the nation and nation-building. It is unthinkable that those who claim to be the torch-bearers in Bengal put the flame out at their own convenience. It is unthinkable that those who are enlightened could single themselves out to keep aloof especially when an Education Bill has come before the House for consideration The reason probably is that the Bill has a strong drawback—a drawback not in the sense of a defect—but a drawback in the sense that the Bill seeks to pass the effective control of secondary education on to the people by a legally constituted Secondary Education Board having a larger number of representatives of the people by drawing back some of the people who have long held a monopoly of education as if under a Royal Charter of nation and community. It is very interesting to observe that my Hindu brethren, though thinking all the time on communal lines, express in national terms, and make the Muslims express in communal terms, although they—the Muslims—by their vast majority form the nation of Bengal. Unfortunately for the Muslims of Bengal, division is communal and not national.

Sir, we not only want more education but also more substantial education and want it all at once in the best interests of the nation. We want to prepare the masses of Bengal for the national responsibilities—the responsibilities of a free nation. The task must begin just

now. It is far away from the zone of intellectual development that a vast people must remain under perpetual serfdom of ignorance only to swallow bombs dropping from the sky. Every element must be a free element to constitute a free nation. For that we want to free the masses, up to the secondary stage at least. Here comes up on the scene the role of secondary education. It is not for me to teach you that secondary education opens the avenues of life, and the check value for this opening must be in the hands of the masses. Nothing can flow by throttling the force of flow. The masses form the force of flow. Their cause must be advanced before advance is possible on any line or lines.

Sir, secondary education was so long left under the control and administration of the University of Calcutta. This body must have done their best, but their best has not proved to be the least best for the masses of Bengal. Therefore, the formation of a Board for secondary education comes into being on the body of the Bill, wherein a larger and more effective representation of the masses should have been contemplated. I would drop the point by drawing the pointed attention of the formulators in this matter. I want a national representative Board to come into being. Unless the representation of the majority community is enhanced it would not have the democratic character of the Board of Control. Such a constituted body should not only relieve the University of Calcutta of the burden of secondary education, but take up all duties of secondary education including the conduct of examination I hope the members of the Select Committee will look to it.

Sir, the whole atmosphere is in a state of torpor on account of war conditions prevailing. If we are at all feeling our existence as to-day, and as we would contemplate for a free nation, we would dart forth to improve the lot of secondary education with a view to industrialise the country far and wide and open out factories on a scale that would help the great democracies of the world to-day. Our existence to-day and advancement to-morrow as a democratic nation is individually co-related with the great democracies of the world. We must prepare so as to be able to help one another with our deeds in times of need. Sir, now a note of warning to those who are enjoying a lively canter by bantering the mover of the Bill. They may be well informed to know that the Bill has the solid support of the masses of Bengal and shall be passed into law in due course in the face of all opposition. I may frankly tell my learned friends of the Opposition that they may go on barking, but the caravan will go on.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKER: Sir, is the honourable member in order in using the word "barking"?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: They do not know of any better term than "barking".

Mr. ABDUR RASCHID MAHMOOD: Sir, I therefore invite my brethren—my enlightened brethren—to join us in the task of framing the Bill to the satisfaction of all. With these few words, I support the motion of the Hon'ble the Education Minister for reference of the Bill to the Select Committee.

Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: Sir, while thanking my honourable friend Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar even for his qualified support to the Government motion, I rise to give my unqualified support to the motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee and opposition to the motion for circulation.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With an unqualified apology

Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: Why? Circulation is necessary for eliciting public opinion and this procedure is also adopted for indirectly putting off discussion and consideration of a measure for some uncertain time with an ultimate desire to drop it. The Opposition contends that the Bill has not the support of public opinion, while Government maintain with equal force that public opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of the Bill and that public sympathy and support are in favour of the Government. If public opinion does not mean the opinion of the coterie that controls the Calcutta University, their supporters and their political allies merely, then it can be asserted without any fear of contradiction, and reasonable criticism, that Government is perfectly justified in claiming public opinion in its favour. ("Hear! hear!" from Coalition Benches.) Sir, my friend Mr Abdul Wahab Khan has already said with much force that the subject under discussion is not a new thing. It has been discussed and talked about by experts and laymen alike for many, many years and persons whose opinions in this matter carry any worth have had enough and sufficient opportunities to express their views from press, platform and every available forum, and these opinions are well known to all. Any further attempt to elicit public opinion would be wasting time for attempting to know a thing which is known to all. Public opinion is clear and settled and is completely in favour of the basic principles of the Bill. There may, I admit, be some genuine and reasonable disagreement as to the details, and these can be settled in the Select Committee. Our friends of the Opposition—the Congress and the Mahashabha—have not acted wisely in deciding to boycott the Select Committee. This reminds me of one thing. When we introduced the Calcutta Corporation Amendment Bill here in this Assembly Mr. Subhaschandra Bose,

the great leader of young and tender boys of Bengal, declared in no uncertain terms that if the Bill was passed in spite of the opposition of the Congress, he and his party would start such an agitation as would compel Government to come to their knees and that that agitation would surpass in magnitude and effectiveness even the great agitation of Sir Surendranath Banerjea against the Partition of Bengal. We found subsequently better sense prevailed and that undesirable warlike attitude proved ephemeral, those threats proved premature and fruitless. Happily, we find now Mr. Bose and his party merrily working under the new Bill with the authors of the Bill, the Muslim Leaguers of the city of Calcutta. (Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: "Hear! hear!") We hope history will repeat itself. I have every hope that however loud may be the Opposition good sense will dawn upon them and the time will soon come when Mookherjis, Banerjis and Boses will lend their most valuable service to the Secondary Education Board and help us in the advancement of education in our common motherland. Next point for the Opposition is that the Bill is anti-national and anti-democratic. Obviously, because there is an attempt in the Bill to vest Government with ultimate power of supervision and control our friends characterise the Bill as anti-national and anti-communal (Cries of "Question, question" from the Congress Benches.) I beg your pardon, Sir, I mean anti-national and anti-democratic. They want that the power and authority sought to be vested in the Government should be vested in the University of Calcutta. We have, without any measure of success, attemped to have a clear idea as to what our friends on the Opposition exactly mean by nationalism and democracy. I fail to understand how if the Calcutta University which is predominantly a Caste Hindu institution completely controlled by a coterie be a national and democratic institution, this Legislature and the Government responsible to this Legislature is not a national and democratic institution. There cannot be anything more funny than this. I quite realise and appreciate the difficulty. When self-interest poisons the heart and when the poisoned heart rules the head reason and sense of justice depart. Sir, Government justify their policy on the ground that secondary education in Bengal needs planned and efficient control. Government have introduced the Bill in order to set up a machinery with power to regulate secondary education in Bengal. We find in the Statement of Objects and Reasons a statement with which the Statement of Objects and Reasons begins, namely—"Secondary education is in Bengal at present uncontrolled." This evoked, unfortunately, from the mover of the motion for circulation, our esteemed friend, Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri, a very uncharitable remark. He described this as a lie. The expression "uncontrolled" does not specially and categorically cast any reflection on any of the institutions, the University, Education Department, or the Text-Book Committee which

are collectively responsible for education in Bengal. It merely refers to the present unsatisfactory arrangements. For in the next sentence Government clearly state that there is no authority with power to regulate development according to planned scheme or to insist that a certain standard should be maintained. Now, Sir, if the statement, "secondary education is in Bengal at present uncontrolled" be a lie, then the only truth is that secondary education is ill-controlled. Speaking generally, without apportioning blames to various institutions and authorities responsible for our education, I must say with all the emphasis that I can command that the education we give to our boys is not satisfactory. I think this is admitted by all right thinking men. Experts may be necessary for building up in detail a machinery for giving good education, but merely to find out whether boys are getting the right sort of education or not expert knowledge and careful and laborious study of the fourteen volumes of the University Commission Report which, according to our friend Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, are lying on the dusty racks of the Secretariat Buildings, or any analysis of the fourteen points of President Wilson is not necessary. Here is a book in my hand written by no less a personage than Sri Abanindranath Tagore. It is "Rajkahini." On the cover page I find the book has been approved by the University of Calcutta for the study of high school boys. This book is not taught in any obscure village school, but is taught in the Hare School situated in between the great Presidency College and the University buildings. In this book among numerous objectionable passages I find the author, while describing an imaginary battle between a Muslim prince and a Rajput princess, says,

সেই অবসরে সুলতানের যত আমীর ওমরা লুঙ্গি ছেড়ে, দাড়িফেলে, বিবি আর মুরগির খাচা লুকিয়ে নিয়ে, রাতারাতি সহর ছেড়ে আজমীড়ের দিকে চম্পট দিলে। সকাল বেলা পৃথ্বীরাজ টোডা দখল কোরে নিলেন।

(Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI: This school is a Government school too!) This is not surely satisfactory, and we do not want that our boys should be injected with these venoms from a tender age. I wonder why our great nationalist friends who were only the other day so much anxious to remove a slur on the character of a Muslim Prince, Nawab Serajuddowla, by removing the Holwell Monument, should consider it necessary to teach these books in schools where our boys—Hindus and Muslims—read. (Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI: Why not?) I will cite another instance. A nephew of mine who has passed the Matriculation Examination this year from the Calcutta University from the Ballyganj Government School and has fortunately found a high place in order of merit was only the other day asked by me if he could tell me what were the cardinal principles and practices prescribed in Islam. Believe it or not, Sir, he could not give me any

satisfactory answer; he could not mention Kalimah, Namaz, Rosa, Hadj and Zakat. It may be, Sir, that the enlightenment that our boys are getting from Russia may induce them to discard their culture, but before discarding them those who discard them must know what they are and what they are discarding. Boys before going to college must know what the fundamentals of their faith are. One more. On one occasion I had an opportunity to sit in a Matriculation Class of a village school. The teacher was lecturing on the Partition of Bengal agitation. Believe it or not, Sir, being asked to describe the boundaries of Bengal, as many as three boys of whom two have passed one being placed in the first division said, Bengal has Arabian sea on the west, Indian ocean on the east, Mediterranean on the south, and the Himalayas on the north! (Laughter.) A village school may have boys like these, but my grievance is that two of them have passed and one got first class. From these it can be taken for granted that the present system of education is not satisfactory. If these are not due to our education being uncontrolled, it must then be due to ill-control.

Sir, the next point of the Opposition is that the Bill is communal and is calculated to Islamise secondary education in Bengal. This is baseless. In the proposed Board as has been demonstrated by previous speakers from this side, out of a total of fifty seats only 19 are reserved for the Muslims, the majority community, as against 20 reserved for the Hindus, the minority community, of this province. Most of the six general seats will be filled up by the Hindus and their number will swell up to an aboslute majority. Sir, in season and out of season they talk glibly of Democracy and Nationalism. Nationalism and Democracy do not merely mean a particular form of Government machinery; they mean just and equitable distribution of rights and privileges. Government claim and very rightly claim that in this Bill no attempt has been made to reduce any majority to a minority or to make any minority a statutory majority. They have made an honest attempt to give adequate representation to all communities and interests. This is democracy. It does not look nice and decent that in defence of self-interest and communalism of the worst type, nationalism and democracy should be talked loud. This is, if you don't mind, Sir, something like Shakespeare's "The Devil citing the scriptures!"

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday at a friendly gathering, you defined a politician as one who gives out truth by supression of facts. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq is an

experienced and seasoned politician. From his introductory speech in connection with the Secondary Education Bill, I find that the proper description of a politician should be one who gives out facts by concealing the true implications of them. The Hon'ble Chief Minister laments that although he had given to the Hindus a larger representation than to the Muslims yet they are accused of being unjust to the Hindus. Sir, I had anticipated that he would say this and that is why I had tried in my press statement to expose the true character of the representation given to Hindus. Since the days of the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill, we have been familiar with the technique which Mr. Huq and his Government have adopted, namely, that of securing control as far as possible through nominations in spheres in which Hindus are, or have claims to be, in a majority. Thus though to outward appearances the Hindus as a community are given certain seats, the effect of the representation given is offset by means of nominations to be made by the Government. My analysis of the composition of the Board differs from Mr. Huq's in regard to two seats only. He thinks Hindus would get 22 seats, I put it at 20. This difference is due to the fact that Mr. Huq assumes that one of the two Vice-Chancellors must always be a Hindu and the Head Mistress of Girls' School must also be a Hindu. He argues this on the basis of present facts and circumstances. But the present facts are not immutable, and the way things have been moving does not by any means encourage one to hope that one of the two Vice-Chancellorships would in all cases in future go to a Hindu. No, Sir, when there is no statutory provision for one of the two to go to a Hindu, he would be an incorrigible optimist who in the face of all the past doings of Mr. Huq's Government and specially when that Government has a predominating influence over the selection, still hopes that one of the posts would invariably be given to a Hindu. Frankly, on the basis of past happenings, I am almost sure that if Muhammadans are available, both will go to Muhammadans. Then, with regard to the seat of the Head Mistress of Girls' School, it may be that this might go to a Hindu. During the controversy over the Calcutta Municipal Bill, Mr. Huq had in the Assembly similarly assured us that the two Labour seats would most certainly go to the Hindus. In actual fact, however, in spite of such emphatic assurance, one of the two seats, by manipulation of constituencies, has gone to Muslims. In the circumstances, one may naturally consider it wise to take Mr. Huq's assurances, and far more his assumptions, not with a grain of salt but with a pound of it. Moreover, even if a Hindu Head Mistress be returned, the chances are that the election would be so controlled that she would be such an individual as would be amenable to direct official control. However, my whole point was that although Mr. Huq makes a show of his generosity in giving as many as 20 seats to Hindus, he practically takes away with one hand what he gives with the other. For, as many as 8 seats out of

the 20, that is just 2/5ths, are to be filled by nomination. And past experience fills one with forebodings as to the true value of such nominated seats, so far as Hindu representation is concerned.

Sir, at the time of the consideration of the Municipal Amendment Bill one of Mr. Huq's strongest arguments for abolition of joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims was that the Muslim community had no confidence in such of their representatives as were returned by the votes of Hindus and Muslims jointly. But what is sauce for the gander is apparently not sauce for the goose. In the case of his own community he would not allow Hindus to have any say in the selection of Muslim representatives, but the Hindus must regard a selection of their own representatives made by a Muslim majority as good enough. My contention was that in a Board of 50 members, an absolute majority, namely 32, would be enjoyed by the section composed of the 19 Moslems, 4 officials including the President and 8 nominated Hindus and one nominated European, both likely to be amenable to Government's wishes on all matters. This makes Government control over the Board very sure It is quite possible that Government would have effective influence over an even greater number of the members The two future Vice-Chancellors to be nominated by the Government may fall in this category and so, I think, are the three Europeans who support the Government on all questions as a matter of policy The four Hindus to be elected by the Assembly and Council are also likely to be such persons as are acceptable to the party in power in the Legislature, namely, the communal majority. Government's influence would thus extend to about 41 members out of the total of 50. At any rate, where a Board of 50 has as many as 24 members, official and non-official, nominated by Government, it would be ridiculous to regard it as an autonomous body The Sadler Report which, according to Mr. Huq, is the basis and justification for this Board, contains nothing to justify a Board so ridiculously political in complexion and communal in outlook

Mr. Huq says that I have manipulated figures to bring out certain astounding conclusions. It is by such sweeping remarks that he seeks to brush aside my criticisms, but he makes no attempt to challenge the facts I had given in analysing the character and composition of the Board. Mr. Huq's only reply on the point seems to be that the nominated members, Hindus, Muslims and Europeans and the officials, will all act in perfect independence. I would like to put it to Mr. Huq, Sir, would he seriously suggest that past experience lends countenance to such a view?

Mr. Huq now sings Hallelujah to the system of nominations, but as Leader of the Proja Party he had all along been pledged to the abolition of nominations, and even actually agreed to its abolition during negotiations with Messrs. Tamizuddin Khan and Shamsuddin

Ahmed for the formation of a ministry that would include them. The only reason for this astounding somersault apparently is that he has now had a taste of the intoxicating qualities of this power of nominations.

Coming now to the question of independence of nominated members, theoretically such independence is quite possible and whether among Muslims, Europeans or Hindus, men with independence are certainly available. Even persons like Sir Ashutosh Mukherji had in the past been nominated by the Government of that period. The trouble does not arise from any paucity of independent men; the trouble rather lies with the Government themselves, for they would not give nominations to men who are known and reputed for their independence. That has been the consistent policy of the Huq Government in the past. They do not worship merit, efficiency or independence; they go almost entirely by political and communal considerations. To illustrate my point Dr. Arabinda Barooah, who was nominated to the Upper House, forfeited his chances for a second nomination because he had the audacity to stand against the injustice done to Hindus in the Corporation Bill. Mr. Sudhansu Mitter, a nominated member of the Calcutta Corporation, got into the bad books of the Government because he stood in the way of a Muslim becoming the Chairman of the District Board in the 24-Parganas, a district with a preponderance of Hindus. Innumerable other instances that support my contention will be found if only the nominations made by the Huq Government during the last three years are scanned. I would only add that besides being actuated by communal and political considerations, the Government have in many cases also acted from considerations which to the public are mysterious. For instance, the one seat in the Calcutta Corporation usually given to an Indian Christian was suddenly and mysteriously made available to a wealthy Marwari, who was never known to have made any notable contribution to civic work. In the Calcutta Improvement Trust, again, who has replaced Sir Badridas Goenka? And one would like to know whether it was on grounds of merit, efficiency, experience or wealth that this change was made by the Government? There were other cases, too, in which nominations have been given to persons who had hardly anything but their wealth to recommend them. It has all along been a mystery to the public on what considerations the persons nominated to these offices were actually selected. Let the Hon'ble the Chief Minister come forward and say whether it is on the ground of the efficiency or independence of individuals that nominations are or have been given by this Government or whether it was not political, communal and other convenient considerations by which they have been actuated?

As regards officials, I never suggested that there are not independent men among them. But officials are, as a rule, required to support the

Government policy or else a Government can hardly work. They hardly have any choice in the matter. Moreover, when it becomes almost the order of the day for officers to be superseded or transferred on pressure from even an M.L.A. supporting the Government, he will be a bold official indeed of the present Government who can successfully flout Government opinion or refuse to carry out instructions issued by the Government.

It is not everyone, Sir, who is prepared to court disaster in trying to champion the just cause, and the present Government have not many in their personnel who have a Christ-like tenacity to the righteous cause.

Mr. Huq insinuates that I assumed that no Muslim has an independent opinion Far be it from me to make such a monstrous suggestion. I am proud to say that at the present moment the destiny of the Indian nation is in the keeping of an eminent Muslim divine. But it cannot of course be said that all Muslims are angels or that no Muslims can do wrong. What is more, I know that the type of independent Muslims to which I am referring will never have any support from Mr. Huq's Government Mr. Huq further insinuates that what I desire is a Board controlled by a Hindu majority exclusive of officials and nominated members, with the Muslims, including officials and nominated members, in a minority. I desire nothing of the kind. What I want is that the best interests of education should thrive and prosper. The plain truth is, Sir, that we are not afraid of Muslim or any other majority so long, as Cyclops-like, it is not possessed of but one eye There was a time, Sir, when the public of Bengal, Hindu or Muslim, would have flocked under the banner of the great nationalist, Mr. Fazlul Huq. I would with all respect ask Mr. Huq to enquire if he still commands that universal popularity, and if not, why not? Bengal loved Fazlul Huq, not because he was a Muslim, but because he was a leader of the people. Bengal has to-day grown suspicious of Fazlul Huq, because he is no longer the leader of all the people, but only of the major portion of a particular community. If the Chief Minister would only realise the difference between what he was and what he is to-day, he would easily appreciate the grounds of our criticism. We do not object to Muslims or Hindus or the representatives of any other communities as such. But we have found, and found to our cost, that the present Government is only inspired by purely communal considerations. So a body over which such a Government is to have control cannot but have a predominantly communal outlook.

Mr. Huq claims that in regard to this Bill he has public opinion behind him. I may be permitted, Sir, to examine a little in detail this claim of Mr. Huq. His supporters in this House consist mainly of the Muslim members, who have been returned to this House not by a majority of the entire people of this province, but by only a section

of the people, namely, the Muslims. He has, besides, the support of the group which calls itself the European Group, but which is in reality the British interests in this Province. That group has little interest in matters of our public weal unless its own self-interest is involved in it. So far as public opinion on public questions is concerned that group does not really come into the picture, except that it swells the ranks of Government supporters. So long as the group can ensure by arrangements with the Government in power the preservation of its own interests, it is interested in little else and lends its support to the Government on all matters without practically bothering to think or reflect. Besides the so-called European Group, the Government have such stray supporters here and there among this or that section or community as the power and control over Government necessarily brings in its trail. The public opinion to which Mr. Huq refers is not really the representative opinion of the whole province. His claim to represent the majority public opinion of the province is vitiated by the existence of a system of communal electorates. The constitution of the electorate is such that appeals are made to it not for popular but communal support. If only Mr. Huq could claim that this Government were based on a majority, elected on a democratic basis, *i.e.*, by electors of all communal complexions, and not by a water-tight constituency composed of members of one particular community only, then could he claim to be the head of a democratic Government having popular support behind him I claim Mr. Huq is neither the head of a democratic Government, nor has he popular support behind him. He represents merely a communal majority. I may also say that the kind of public opinion which Mr Huq champions is not the one which the Sadler Commission from whom Mr. Huq claims to have received his inspiration for this Bill had evidently in mind. Hear what the Commission observed on this point:—

> "Above all, the central educational authority must be so constituted as to command the confidence of the different sections of the community whose co-operation is indispensable to the success of any adequate plan of educational reform."

The Sadler Commission also expresses very definite opinion as to the value of the opinion of the class or section which Mr. Huq despises when it says that it is upon "a good understanding between the Government and the educated classes that the prospects of effective reform in the existing system of education mainly depends."

Sir, the Hon'ble Chief Minister has ridiculed the "loud vocal efforts of one section of a minority community" and says that "if we were to await the coming of unanimity we should wait for ever." It may be recalled that not long ago when the "War Resolution" was

before this House, the Chief Minister insisted that the future constitution of India could only be framed with the full approval of the Muslims, a minority community. There was then no stouter champion of this viewpoint than the Hon'ble the Chief Minister who to-day derides the voice of the minorities. This attitude of obstructing all-India reforms on the ground of lack of unanimity and ignoring it in the matter of even the most vital reforms in the province is further proof, if proof were needed, of the consistency of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. Sir, how long will Mr. Huq insist on playing on the principle, "Heads I win, tails you lose?"

The Chief Minister has said that in introducing the Bill, his "chief reasons are educational ones." He has tried to persuade his partisans into the belief that this Bill will satisfy the cry that has come to him "from the children of the soil—the children of the artisan, the children of the shopkeeper and the children of the palace," and that this Bill will give them a better chance as, he says, "The cry calls for a better chance. Let us strive to give it to them." While sympathising with the Chief Minister's lofty ideals, I cannot help feeling that he has tried to persuade only his partisans, who have hardly applied their minds to understand the educational implications of the Bill. I can also understand the mentality of those Muslim members of the House who are the supporters of the Government. Being intoxicated with the powers newly imposed on them from outside, their vision is bound to be blurred. It has been said, "Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely." I fail, however, to appreciate why certain members of the Scheduled Castes have been willing to support this Bill. They have been promised only four seats on a Board composed of fifty members, and for this price, they appear to overlook not only the pernicious consequences of the Bill, but also the important fact that education under this Bill will be made very much more difficult and expensive for them. I cannot help feeling that if they join the supporters of the Government they will be only burning their own boats. Let us now see what this Bill can achieve educationally.

Here we have to work under a fundamental handicap. Though the chief reasons for the Bill must be presumed to be educational ones, there is nothing in the Bill nor in the lengthy speech of the Chief Minister nor has anything been published either in the form of a White Paper or a statement which would give us even a distant glimpse of the plan of education which he has in view and which, according to him, this Bill would help in introducing and which could not be introduced without this Bill being passed. We have been left to draw our own inferences about the plan that is to come. The best light that I have been able to find about it is in a report of Dr. Jenkins, who is the Government's adviser-in-chief in connection with this Bill. Though we do not know whether or not this report has been accepted

by the Government, we may take it that it shows the main currents of thought in the Education Department. In that report the number of high schools is proposed to be reduced from 1,200 to 400 only. Fee rates are to be increased, a larger percentage of students are to live in attached hostels. The high schools again are to consist only of the four higher classes and will not admit students unless they have passed from a recognised middle school. The report makes the impossible assumption that the same number of students that are reading in 1,200 schools will read in the four hundred new schools, students of the 800 abolished schools migrating *en bloc* to the remaining four hundred schools to live in expensive hostels there. And still the estimated cost on high schools alone according to that report comes to Rs. 27 lakhs, that on high schools and middle schools together coming to Rs. 42 lakhs. Besides an additional expenditure of about Rs. 15 lakhs is estimated to be necessary on girls' secondary education over and above the present scale of expenditure on these institutions. The total additional expenditure on secondary education therefore excluding the present allotment of Rs. 25 lakhs comes up to about Rs. 32 lakhs excluding the cost on madrassas. The above figures do not also include the additional expenditure required for medical examination, inspection, teachers' training, etc.

Now, if according to these estimates, an additional expenditure of about Rs. 32 lakhs a year or rather a trebling of the present scale of expenditure were necessary to maintain only 400 high schools on the proposed standard, the public have not at all been wrong in fearing that, with no additional expenditure at all, the Bill will inevitably lead to a very large scale disaffiliation of existing high schools.

This does, in the language of the Chief Minister, "constitute to the teachers a threat of economic disaster as a necessary consequence of the passing of the Bill." Further, all opportunities for higher education will be shut out from the bulk of the poor rural population and what surprises me is that the professional champions of their cause would still support this Bill.

What after all is the history of secondary education in this province? Government have no schools of their own in rural areas. The bulk of the Muslims and other backward classes live in rural areas and are poor. If they are now making some progress, that is only because they could find an increasing number of high schools developing at their doors to which they could send their boys. Nobody denies that many of these schools are ill-equipped. But what astounds one is that instead of attempting to increase their efficiency, they are proposed to be completely wiped out and poor peasants are to send their boys to live in expensive hostels at a great distance from their homes and pay higher fees. If there is any scheme behind the Bill at all, it is that most of the boys now reading in high schools should be debarred from

high school education, that a fewer number of boys would get education in better equipped but more expensive schools. Is that the way to spread education among backward classes or is it an attempt to confine high school education to the boys of the wealthy middle class?

Further, the House must not think that the above estimates are based on the idea of imparting a better or more varied type of education in the schools. It is the same type of schooling as is being given now though the fortunate teachers will be better paid, and there will be a larger library. This is how the Chief Minister proposes to give a better chance to the children of artisans, the children of shopkeepers and the boys of the palace.

The House should also remember the capacity of the persons in power to plan. If there are to be 400 or 500 high schools in the province instead of the present 1,400, how are they to be distributed? Is it going to be distributed according to an arithmetical plan? If the past records of the Minister are any guide, we can never think of that. The House cannot expect a better plan in the location of these schools. For, in no department of work have the Government shown any indication of working according to some well-thought-out plan. There should be a clear warning to the poorer peasants of this province of what evils this Bill holds in store for them. And to the supporters of the oligarchy in power, it should be made clear that they have not been able to hide their real intentions behind a smoke screen of high but empty phrases. What they are primarily anxious about is not so much the interests of secondary education or the desire to reorganise it on a planned basis, but merely to secure control over secondary education through the instrumentality of the proposed Board. In fact, it would be more appropriate to call this Bill, not the Secondary Education Bill, but a Bill to strangle secondary education.

With these words, Sir, I support the motion for circulation of my friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, under instructions from this so-called European Group, which are in accord with my own feelings, I support the motion that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. We arrived at this decision with moderated enthusiasm, for while we think the Bill to be much better than nothing at all, we know it might be made better still: we hope it may be made much better still. We have had some splendid speeches, admirable in substance and expression. I regret that I shall fall below their standard, but whenever I begin to speak the muse of oratory always takes 20 minutes off and leaves me to my own humble resources. Therefore, my prose will crawl along the ground. I regret this especially, because I shall not rise to the height of the instructions given me by

my group. The House would like to hear them. They were somewhat in this form: "Resolved that Mr. Wordsworth put before the Assembly the view that all groups might profitably combine to gather the Education Minister's rosebuds while they may, while they are fresh and fragrant, since if there is delay through circulation the roses may all be withered before action is possible." If in my speech I prove so tactless as to refer to boys and girls, schools and teachers, I beg your pardon in advance. I am constitutionally unable to believe that education is entirely made up of Hindu and Muslim and Scheduled Caste and European and Anglo-Indian and communal formulæ, bitterness and strife.

All I say will be referred to two dominant principles in our thought. One is that this matter "in principle" was decided long ago. For 20 years opinion in this province has accepted it as necessary, inevitable and advisable that we should have a Board. ("Hear! hear!" from the Coalition Benches.) The matter in our opinion has gone too far to be reopened, and we regret therefore that some critics have regarded the Bill as conflict between a board and the university.

My second dominant principle is this. If we must have a board—as we must—the Board must be such as Government parties favour. That is, we must, however much we dislike it, accept a dose of communalism as a necessity for the time being. I myself dislike the intrusion of the communal formula. I have fought against it for many years, in the House as elsewhere. From a purely educational point of view I think it is wrong. But if in the realm of pure educational thought we may strive for the highest and the best, here in this Assembly and therefore as statesmen we must strive for, not what is best absolutely, but the best we think we can get in existing circumstances. We cannot shake off the conditions in which we live. Therefore, unless we are prepared to accept a dose of communalism, I do not see how we shall make any advance or take any action whatever.

At this stage in my speech the dominant word is "swallow". Not the bird that does not make a summer, but the effort we make to get down something distasteful. It would ill become me to take any interest in the intimate habits of any of my friends, but I venture to suppose that every member of this group at least has on occasion at need swallowed castor oil or some other distasteful stuff; and this has not impaired their fervent belief that there are many better things in life than castor oil. May we not then be courageous enough to swallow a dose of communalism without letting it impair our belief that life has many better things than communal formulæ? Let us take what we can get and do our best to improve it.

There are many strong reasons against any expression of communalism in legislation. I have myself used them, on many occasions. On the other hand, there are about 120 strong and sturdy reasons in

favour of this piece of legislation. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: "119 and not 120.") I need not refer to them in detail, but I believe there are about 120 members in the party that supports Government. Geography, a subject much neglected in this province, teaches us that as the mountains rise, so the rivers wind. Mountains are hard to move. Sometimes they show no desire to move. When 120 mountains together refuse to move, we may agree to let the rivers wind as they will.

We have given this Board anxious thought. It has been criticized inside and outside the House. We have blamed Government again and again for not producing a Board. We have tried to establish one ourselves, with no results. Committees have failed. The university has failed. We have thrown the responsibility back on to Government. We have given Government no assistance at all. Let me mention one illustration; the last experience, in which I myself shared in a humble capacity. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: "What capacity?") Two years ago we had a committee representative of this House, of our two universities, of every community, and we worked for some months trying to draft a Bill We did not draft a Bill. We did not draft a clause. We did not draft a comma The only thing we drafted was the heading on the paper, *Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1938*; after that little success we agreed to leave the matter to Government. Some philosopher has observed that there is both wisdom and utility in co-operating with the inevitable That I think is the principle we should follow. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: "No, no. With Government.")

I wish to make no comment on details, for those will be the material for the Select Committee. But one thing I should refer to, since one member somewhere on my right seemed to be in doubt about it. Anglo-Indians and Europeans have a body to help their education, but it has no authority, being advisory to the Minister of Education, to Mr. Fazlul Huq himself (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: What about the statutory protection?) This body does not control the schools, many of which now work under the University of Calcutta, taking its examinations, and it is possible, even probable, that when we have a Board very many of these schools will choose to work under that Board and through the Board take university examinations. The Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education neither would try to prevent that nor could prevent it even if it wanted it. It is purely advisory to the Minister of Education.

I hope that in the Select Committee we may do certain things. We may reduce officialism. We may smooth corners in communalism. We may give the public, through this Legislature and by other means, a larger share in the work of controlling education. For education is

not only a learned calling. It is a function of the State. It is a matter that interests all citizens, in which all citizens should accept their part of responsibility.

Now circulation, we think here, is the same thing as postponement, and we do not see who would profit from it. There is force in the argument that after 20 years we might easily wait another three or four months. There is just as much force in the argument that after 20 years we ought to set to work without further delay on a difficult problem. We can choose one point of view or the other. This Assembly is an important organ of public opinion. Will anyone in the next six months tell this Legislature more than it now knows about the problem before us? Will anyone tell us more about education and boards and schools and defects than we know now? In another six months can we learn anything more about communalism? (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No communalism will remain. Hitler will crush everything.) I hope not. I hope there is nothing more to learn.

When I was a little boy my mother, of blessed memory, taught me that there was no average, no compromise, between Yes and No. If they met in a narrow lane and neither stepped aside, the only possible issue was a good stalwart fight. Had she known Bengal, she might have learnt that a compromise is sometimes possible, one that we often try to cling to, the word "Never".

It is permitted to a friend to use hard words at times, and the penalty is the danger of being hated, temporarily, for them. I accept both the privilege and the risk. May I ask this Assembly to consider, not the Board, not communal formulæ, but the condition of education in our province? From many years of experience, from constant conversation with teachers in colleges, the university, the schools, fathers of boys whom I meet, I say that it is a common view, in Bengal and outside Bengal, that our standard of education has been steadily deteriorating for the last 20 years. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Question. The recent Matriculation Regulations disprove.) That is a serious matter, which I put before the House with a sense of responsibility. In all countries it is usual to say that the battle of education is fought in the schools. We should consider in Bengal whether there is not danger of its being lost in the schools. I repeat, this is not my own view alone; it is a view I share with many. I venture to think that 80 to 90 per cent. of the teachers in colleges in Bengal hold the same view. The university, which I respect and for which I have always been proud to work along with so many others, along with hundreds of others, has no resources to arrest the decline. The half responsibility half-heartedly given to it, without resources or organization for the purpose, does not enable it to take in hand the resuscitation, improvement, reintegration of our secondary education.

About this I will use only one argument. The Matriculation is the ordinary school-leaving examination such as we find in all countries. It is qualifying, not competitive. A boy who is averagely intelligent, averagely well taught, averagely industrious should pass it. There should be no failures among such boys except those few that represent the uncertainty always to be found in human affairs. I am not putting the standard of average diligence very high, for I have boys and girls of my own, and so know something about it. Besides, the Bengali boy is by nature industrious; he wants to learn, he wants to pass his examination; indeed, he goes to school early to try to get a seat near the teacher; which to a Briton, even when he has been in this country as long as I have, is an amazing phenomenon. Yet what do we find? I believe, of the pupils who sat the Calcutta Matriculation last time there were about 13,000 failures. There should have been few. What does this mean? It means 13,000 years of education wasted, 13,000 years of school fees gone for nothing, 13,000 examination fees gone for nothing, 13,000 disappointments. Nor is this all. The schools are not ashamed of it, because there is no one to make them ashamed. Again, all these boys who failed were certified by the Head Masters as having a reasonable chance of passing the examination. Head Masters went wrong in 13,000 cases. That is a serious reflection on our schools. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What is the percentage?) Over 30 per cent. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What is the percentage in Great Britain?) Very small, I think.

Then again, Sir, I may point out that of any 500 inspection reports, there is probably not one that is an educational document aimed at helping teachers or the Head Master. They are purely formal reports designed to help the university in answering one question, the one question put before it by the Regulations, is this school fit to send boys up for the Matriculation Examination? There is nothing in the reports to help the schools, nothing to which teachers can look for guidance in the coming year. Yet for this purpose the Education Department has to maintain a large inspectorate. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Colossal ignorance.)

I wonder whether many critics of the Bill have not been misled by excessive trust in that old statement in the classics that the wise man should not seek to escape from a flood by clinging to a tiger's tail. (Laughter.) I disagree. He should. For when he gets to the shore, he may find the tiger tame, or exhausted, or even not a tiger at all, but some friendly creature whose hinder parts have the misfortune of looking like a tiger's. (Laughter.) In this House and outside, honest deep fears about this Bill have been heard. I attribute to no man in this Legislature insincere criticism. I do not believe that any member has said anything about it that he does not believe. I however do not think there is any reason to suspect base designs and evil purposes in

Bill, Board, or Executive. Those who have criticized so harshly may have looked at the executive from one direction only: had they looked at it from all others as well they might have found it a less tigrish, a more friendly animal than they suspected. I myself, by my nationality and place among you, am outside the sphere of these fears and feelings. I understand them, but I cannot entirely share in them. My experience, which I claim to be considerable; my intelligence, about which I make no claim lest I be contradicted; my temperament, which the House may have observed is a happy blend of the judicious and the benign; my faith in my fellow-creatures, which is strong and vigorous after a lifetime of disappointment, all combine to make it impossible for me to believe that there is any vile purpose, intention or even potentiality in any part of the Bill or the organization it sets up.

There is a small executive which will do the Board's work; the body of 15 or so on which Muslims and Hindus will be in virtual equality, perhaps a majority of one or two on one side or the other. Can we believe that 6 against 7, or rather 7 against 6, will be able to inflict such defeat on the other side as to lay it prostrate, to lay its culture in the dust? I do not understand this argument. How is culture menaced? What does this sort of language mean? The university also is a communal body, in the sense that it is composed of representatives of all classes of the community and serves all classes of the community. Does the university menace anyone's culture? If the Board does its duty, it will be so hard put to it in grappling with what is wrong in our schools as never to have any time or energy left to attack anyone's culture, even if it wanted to.

Let us put education in the front place. Let us face the challenge of the time. We want this Board, this Board improved, some Board; or if not, we must have the university reorganized in such a manner that it will have an organ efficient for this tremendous task. If you do that, it follows that the university will have the larger part of its responsibility concerned with the schools. (I ask you to look at the Statement of Objects and Reasons for the dimensions of the task.) It seems to me that if the university had to do most of its work for schools and comparatively little for colleges and higher education, it would inevitably lose something of its status and importance in people's eyes as a university

Now may I say a few words about education in relation to citizenship? Why should anyone seek to use education as a means for degrading citizenship and making it poorer? In some parts of Bengal this has been done of late. We have read that, in a town of Eastern Bengal famous as an education centre, all the small boys of all the schools were so perturbed by the Bill that they insisted on a whole

day's holiday. (Laughter.) What happened was that their school committees insisted on all, Muslim boys as well as Hindu, taking the holiday as a protest. The impression they sought to convey was that the town for the next twenty-four hours would be full of weeping boys; if anyone went up to one, thinking they had lost a football, or at least an uncle, and asked why he was crying, he would say "Because the new Education Bill will destroy my culture?" Can we take that sort of thing seriously, and can we regard the school committees' behaviour without indignation?

But that town was not a distressful place. I know what happened. I know Deben. I know Mahmud. I know that they went swimming and fishing together, and after a long and lovely day in the sun and water said the one to the other with a sigh of happiness, "I hope Mr. Fazlul Huq will produce another Bill next week."

This is a crowded world. We are continually knocking against one another, Hindu against Muslim, European against Hindu, and so on. Why should we teach our children to look for offences? Why should we teach them to develop a peculiar tenderness in this respect? Why not teach them to take rough and smooth together with a smile. We cannot always have our own way. If a Hindu treads on Muslim toes; if Muslim collides with a Hindu flank; why regard it as cause for grievous outcry?

Think of the Hindu boy. Think what he would be if some people had their way. He would spend his time wondering thus: "My father hates his father, my two grandfathers hate his two grandfathers, my four great grandfathers hate his four great grandfathers; but my teachers tell me I should love Abdul, because we are both sons of India."

We Europeans, so-called Europeans, are not so sensitive about these things; either because we have thicker skins, or blunter perceptions, or have passed through the same stage long ago. I myself, an English boy, member of the Church of England, was taught French by an Irishman who was a Roman Catholic, Greek by a Scot who was necessarily a Presbyterian. I do not remember that they hurt my culture, though they frequently hurt me elsewhere.

I would seriously, with all the seriousness I can command, ask the House to consider whether the opposition to communalism may not sometimes take a form as dangerous and unpleasant as communalism itself. If we let our boys alone they are happy together. They become sensitive about these things only when they are getting on in years; that is to say, when they are old enough to contemplate the advisability of getting elected to this Legislature.

I finish with a statement from the Chinese classics, a statement of great value a magnificent injunction. In an old book which consists of moral precepts for the instruction of the very young, it is said: "Never burn down your own house, not even to inconvenience your wife's mother." That is a general statement. For its terms we may substitute others at need, so in time we may arrive at some such form of it as this: "Never refuse to improve your education when you get the chance, not even to annoy the man opposite or irritate a Minister of Education."

Quite finally, may I suggest that when this Board is established one of its first duties should be to give refresher courses to parents, school committees and statesmen of the Legislature in the kindly and humorous toleration of differences; and before that, while waiting for the Bill to reappear, why should we not have a serious discussion about the condition of our education in which we shall say nothing about Hindu, Muslim, Scheduled Caste, communal formulæ, but concern ourselves only with the state of education and our schools. (Loud applause.)

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar has already stated the attitude of the Krishak Proja Party. I also endorse that particular view. It has been said by Mr. Hashim why should Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar give his qualified support and not unqualified support to this Bill. If we could rely on the sincerity of the ministry we could have given our unqualified support to this Bill The other day Mr. Abdul Hafiz moved a resolution to give effect to the recommendation of the Floud Committee, and took a day's time of the House, but ultimately he was compelled to withdraw his resolution. That is why I must say we cannot give unqualified support. Unless we know what the ministry is really going to do, we cannot give unqualified support. Now "old order changeth yielding place to new" and the present Bill in my opinion is trying to better the existing circumstances prevailing in the Calcutta University and for that alone we have given our support. In the Select Committee we shall see how we can improve it The Hon'ble the Chief Minister has asked the members of the Opposition to work on the Select Committee and thereby help him to improve the Bill, but I do not understand why Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy and others could not agree to serve on the Select Committee. The Chief Minister of Madras has given his consent to a Muhammadan being the Premier in the Central Government provided he works for the national cause. The other day when Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose visited Comilla he declared in unqualified terms that if there were 12 Ministers from the Muslim Group he would support them provided the Ministers worked for the cause of the nation.

Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee seeks Hindu-Muslim unity and I say that at least for Hindu-Muslim unity he should support the motion for reference of the Bill to Select Committee.

Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy criticised Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar's remarks regarding England's work in India and asked categorically if it was certain that the present ministry will not change this Bill again. I am also certain that the ministry will not care for England's work in India, they will not care for Hindu's work for India and they will not care for Muslim's work for India. Most probably they will only care for ministerial work in Bengal edited by the Director of Public Information.

Mr. Abdul Wahab Khan has stated that Mr. Abdul Hakeem spoke against the Bill simply because he was disappointed in his case, but I think Mr. Abdul Hakeem does not deserve that remark. Khans are very easily satisfied. One Khan of the Upper House was satisfied for reasons known to all and this Abdul Wahab Khan also might be satisfied. Milton in his book "Comus" has said: "It is daylight that makes sin." We do not know whether "day-light" will ever fall on his deeds of satisfaction, and if it would fall we could give our verdict whether it is liable to punishment; whether it has public opinion behind it. So, Sir, my submission is this, that although our party is going to support this Bill, still we want some improvements in two respects to be made in the Select Committee. The first is as regards nomination. Mr. Sarker has stated that Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed and the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan accepted the ministry on condition that nomination would be abolished, but that condition has not been fulfilled yet. One of them has resigned and one is still in the cabinet. Our party is very suspicious of nomination because we think that a man who has got no capacity can through the virtue of official help secure nomination easily and a person having almost no education can also become a member of an Education Committee. I know, Sir, that in several districts there are persons who have got no education but are still members of the Education Committees. (Cries of "Text-Book Committees also"; "District School Boards also"; and another voice "the Vice-Chancellor also".) But I am not aware of any Vice-Chancellor having no education at all. Then Sir, there is another point. There should be no control by the official group in this body. There should be non-official control over this body, whether it be the Hindus or the Muhammadans, I do not care. I want that the best men should go into the committee and give their support, and it should be the best of men who should work out the destiny of the Board. Now, Sir, another point is this, that we do not find in the body of the Bill anything about the control of examinations. The Secondary Education Board is going to deal with many things, but I do not know why they should not take up the control of the examinations as well

in right earnest. There should be a committee and that committee will control the examinations and from that examination also a great income will accrue to the Board. Regarding text-books the grievance of the Muslim community is that sometimes Hindu and Muslim boys cannot study the same books together. There are some passages in some books which are obnoxious either to the Muhammadan boy or to the Hindu boy and the Text-Book Committee should be particularly careful in avoiding those chapters or those books which contain offensive matter. One of my friend says that one can easily change the Text-Book Committee. In the past it has been our sad experience that in spite of repeated efforts to solve this difficulty we were not successful in doing so. So my submission is this, that the old order should be given a go-bye and a new order should be welcomed so that we can see what we can do for the benefit of the boys of Bengal.

Mr. ASHUTOSH MULLICK : Mr. Speaker, Sir, মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল নিয়ন্ত্রণ জন্য বঙ্গভূমি তৃষিত হইয়া উঠিয়াছে এবং সে চাতক পক্ষীর মত ঊর্দ্ধের দিকে তাকাইয়া আছে—কর্তৃপক্ষ সরকার বাহাদুর জলবর্ষণের ব্যবস্থা না করিলে তাহার আর গতি নাই—গুরু গুরু মেঘ গর্জন সুরু হইয়াছে, গবর্ণমেণ্ট সাড়া দিয়াছেন—তৃষ্ণা নিবারণের যা হয় একটা উপায় হয়ত হইবে। অতএব আপাততঃ আমি সেজন্য উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করিতে চাই না।

গবর্ণমেণ্টের এই শিক্ষা বিল—বিল, ঝিল, খাল কিছুই নয়, নদ, নদী, তড়াগ, বাঁধ, পুষ্করিণীও নয়,—কোন প্রকার জলাশয়ই নয়, ইহাকে মেঘ বলা যাইতে পারে, কিন্তু এই মেঘ জলবাহী মেঘ নয়, ইহা যেন প্রাতঃকালীন মেঘ—কেবল আড়ম্বরই সার; এবং মাননীয় শিক্ষা মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের প্রস্তাবনায় তাঁহার প্রদত্ত বক্তৃতাটিও এই মেঘেরই অবস্থান্তর মাত্র উহা যেন বাংলার ভাগ্যাকাশে ঘনতমসাচ্ছন্ন কৃষ্ণ বর্ণ নবজলধর। আমরা এই অর্গলবদ্ধ পরিষদ গৃহে অনর্গল, সরল ও প্রাঞ্জল ভাষায়, দুর্ব্বল অন্তঃকরণে সরল যুক্তিপূর্ণ, কখনও এক নিশ্বাসে কখনও বা শ্বাস প্রশ্বাস রুদ্ধ হইবার উপক্রম হইয়া আবার কোন কোন সময় দীর্ঘ নিশ্বাসের সহিত উচ্চারিত সুদীর্ঘ বক্তৃতায় সেই মেঘের গুরুগম্ভীর গর্জন শুনিয়াছি। সে মেঘ দেখিয়া মুগ্ধ চাতককুল ব্যাকুল হইয়া ঊর্দ্ধশ্বাসে নিকটবর্ত্তী হইল, কিন্তু তারা প্রথমেই দেখিল বারিবিন্দুপাতের বিন্দুমাত্র সম্ভাবনা নাই, সে মেঘের আছে কেবল তর্জন গর্জনের সহিত অশনিসম্পাতের সূচনা; পরে অদূর ভবিষ্যতে দেখিতে পাইবে যে দুর্দ্দৈব সাম্প্রদায়িক প্রভুত্ব ঝঞ্ঝার বেগভরে সেই মেঘ ক্রমশঃ উড়াইয়া লইয়া যাইতেছে! তখন চাতকের সকল আশা সমূলে নির্ম্মূল হইয়া যাইবে। আপন আপন ভ্রম উপলব্ধি করিতে পারিয়া চাতককুলের তখন আত্মগ্লানি ও ধিক্কার উপস্থিত হইবে।

আমাদের চিন্তার বিষয় এই যে পূর্ব্বে আমাদের যে একটি ব্যবস্থা ছিল যাহাতে আমাদের মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাকেন্দ্রসমূহ অত্যন্ত সহজ নিয়মে আপনার সমস্ত অভাব অভিযোগ মিটাইয়া লইত—দেশে তাহার কি লেশমাত্র অবশিষ্ট থাকিবে না?

যে গাছ আপনার ফুল আপনি ফুটাইত সে আকাশ হইতে পুষ্পবৃষ্টির জন্য তাহার সমস্ত শীর্ণ শাখা প্রশাখা উপরে তুলিয়া দরখাস্ত ভারী করিতেছে, না হয় তার দরখাস্ত মঞ্জুর হইল, কিন্তু এই সমস্ত আকাশ কুসুম লইয়া তার সার্থকতা কি? শিক্ষার নিয়ন্ত্রণ নাই বলিয়া আমরা যে আক্ষেপ করিতেছি সেটা সামান্য কথা, সকলের চেয়ে গুরুতর শোকের ও পরিতাপের বিষয় হইয়াছে তাহার মূল কারণটা বর্তমান শিক্ষা বিল শিক্ষা বিস্তারের কিংবা শিক্ষার উন্নতির পরিকল্পনা লইয়া দরবারে হাজির হয় নাই—সে আসিয়াছে পাওনাদারের রোষ কষায়িত রক্ত চক্ষু ও লগুড়হস্ত লইয়া—সে হিসাব নিকাশের ধার ধারে না। গভর্ণমেণ্টের এই শিক্ষা বিলের মন, শিক্ষা বিস্তারের মধ্যে নাই, শিক্ষার উন্নতির মধ্যেও নাই, তার সম্পূর্ণ মনোযোগ রহিয়াছে বাইরের দিকে—সে শিক্ষা নিয়ন্ত্রণ জন্যই ব্যস্ত। এক কথায় এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল বাঙ্গালীর জন্য উত্তম মধ্যম শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করিয়া দিবে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট বলিতে ত একটা লোহার কলকারখানা বোঝায় না, তাহার পশ্চাতে যে রক্ত মাংসের মানুষ আছে, তাঁহারা যে ন্যূনাধিক পরিমাণে ষড়রিপুর বশীভূত তাঁহারা রাগ দ্বেষের হাত এড়াইয়া একেবারে জীবন্মুক্ত হইয়া আসেন নাই। তাঁহারা অন্যায় করিতে প্রবৃত্ত হইলে তাহা হাতে হাতে ধরাইয়া, যে অন্যায় সংশোধনের সুন্দর ও প্রকৃষ্ট উপায়, এমন কথা কেহ কি বলিতে পারেন? বাংলার মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার শৈশবকাল অতীত হইয়াছে। তারুণ্য, ভর্ৎসনার কালও অতীত হইয়াছে। এখন তাহার পরিণত বয়স। কিঞ্চিন্ন্যূন শতবর্ষে পদার্পণ করিয়াছে। তাহার প্রতি এখন ভ্রূকুটি কুটিল দৃষ্টিপাত করিয়া ত্রুটি সংশোধনের চেষ্টা করিলে কিংবা আরক্ত চক্ষু দ্বারা শাসাইয়া তার সংস্কারের প্রয়াস পাইলে সে হয়ত মনের দুঃখে দেশত্যাগী হইবে হয়ত বা আত্মগ্লানিতে আত্মহত্যা করিবে। হয়ত বা অন্যায় শাসন উপেক্ষা করিয়া সন্ন্যাসী সাজিয়া বৈধ সংসার ত্যাগ করিয়া নূতন সংসার সৃষ্টি করিবে। সেইজন্য আমি বাংলার হর্ত্তা, কর্ত্তা, অভিভাবক-দিগকে পূর্ব্ব হইতে সাবধান করিয়া দিতেছি। তাঁহারা হয়ত সাম্প্রদায়িক ব্যবধান বশতঃ স্বার্থান্ধ হইয়া বাংলার জনমত অবধান করিবেন না। তথাপি আমি মন্ত্রণা-নিধান প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে এই বিষয় গভীর রাত্রিতে সুকোমল শয্যায় উপাধানস্থিত স্থির মস্তিষ্ক লইয়া অনুধাবন করিতে এবং এই অপ্রত্যাশিত বিধানের উপাদানসমূহ দেশের অকল্যাণকর বলিয়া প্রকাশিত হইবার অনাগত আতঙ্ক হইতে রক্ষা পাইবার জন্য বিলাটি দেশবাসীর সমক্ষে উপস্থাপিত করিবার জন্য সনির্বন্ধ অনুরোধ করি।

Political রাজনীতি সাধনার চরম উদ্দেশ্য—একমাত্র দেশের হৃদয়কে এক করা এবং দেশের হৃদয়কে এক করা এবং দেশের হৃদয়লাভকেই যদি চরম ও পরম চরিতার্থ বলিয়া স্বীকার করা যায় এবং তাহা অত্যাবশ্যক বলিয়া বিবেচনা করিলে জনমতকে দূরে রাখিয়া দেশের যথার্থ কাছে যাইবার কোন পথ খোলা আছে বলিয়া আমি মনে করি না।

মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিষয়ে প্রবীণ সুতিক্ত অভিজ্ঞতাসম্পূর্ণ শ্রদ্ধেয় শ্রীযুক্ত প্রমথনাথ বানার্জি প্রমুখ ব্যক্তিগণ ওজস্বিনী ভাষায় এই বিশ্রী বিলাটির যেভাবে তীব্র সমালোচনায় তাহা বিষধর সর্প উল্লেখে নিরন্ন বাঙ্গালীর "শিক্ষা বিপন্ন" বলিয়া বর্ণনা করিয়াছেন অন্ততঃ সেই জন্যও "ইছলাম বিপন্ন" মন্ত্রে দীক্ষিত, অনুপ্রাণিত, উদ্বুদ্ধ এবং তদ্দ্বারাই একীভূত

গভর্ণমেণ্টের স্বপক্ষীয় শ্রীবিহীন বন্ধুদিগের বিলের—শ্রীযুত হরেন্দ্র নাথ চৌধুরীর প্রচার দ্বারা জনমত গ্রহণ করার প্রস্তাব সমর্থন করিয়া (আমাদের) বিপক্ষদলের যুক্তি অযৌক্তিক, অলীক এবং অপ্রাসঙ্গিক সপ্রমাণ করাইয়া বিরুদ্ধবাদীদের গণ্ডদেশে চূণকালী লেপনের ব্যবস্থা দেওয়া উচিত। জনমত গ্রহণ করার প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করিলে এমন কি ক্ষতি হইবে? মাত্র স্বল্প কালক্ষেপ হইবে। বিলটির অন্তর্ভুক্ত বিষয়সমূহ যখন কাহারও দূরে নিক্ষেপ করিবার কোন কারণই নাই, তখন অযথা চিত্তবিক্ষেপ সৃষ্টি করিয়া (বিলটির প্রচার দ্বারায় জনমত গ্রহণ) প্রস্তাবটির প্রতি কুদৃষ্টি নিক্ষেপ করিবার কারণ কি হইতে পারে? যদি তাঁরা শিক্ষা নিয়ন্ত্রণের আরও কিছুকাল গৌণ হইয়া বাংলার স্বল্প ক্ষতি হইবার সম্ভাবনা মনে করিতে পারেন। কিন্তু তদ্বারা দেশের মূলীভূত প্রভূত ক্ষতি হইবে। বাংলার আকাশ, বাতাস, জল, স্থল, অন্তরীক্ষ, বাংলার আবাল, বৃদ্ধ, বণিতা বিলের বিষয় আলোচনায় মুখরিত করিয়াছে। বাংলার দিক দিগন্ত ধ্বনিত প্রতিধ্বনিত করিয়াছে, বাঙ্গালীর চিত্তে বিষম আলোড়ন উপস্থিত হইয়াছে তথাপি শিক্ষা মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বিশেষ ধৈর্য্য সহকারে জনমত গ্রহণ প্রস্তাব উপেক্ষা করিয়া বিলটি Select Committeeতে প্রেরণের প্রস্তাব উপস্থিত করিয়াছেন। আমরা তাঁহার বক্তৃতায় কোথায়ও ধৈর্য্যচ্যুতির সম্ভাবনা লক্ষ্য করি নাই। তাঁহার ধৈর্য্যের বলিহারী যাই। বাহবা তাঁহার ধৈর্য্য।

তারপর উপসংহারে আমি বলিতে চাই প্রধান মন্ত্রী হেন বিজ্ঞের পক্ষে এই পরিষদের কতিপয় সদস্যের মতবাদ খণ্ডন জন্য এবং তাহাদের অভিমত সর্ব্বৈব মিথ্যা সপ্রমাণ করবার জন্য জনমত গ্রহণ করার প্রস্তাবটি গ্রহণ করাই সমিচীন হইবে এবং এই জন্যই আমি উক্ত প্রস্তাবটি অন্ততঃ challenge স্বরূপে গ্রহণ করিবার জন্য শেষবার তাঁহাকে সনির্ব্বন্ধ অনুরোধ করিতেছি।

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was wondering how this Secondary Education Bill, 1940, had aroused such a storm of protest and particularly from the Opposition Benches, mainly of the Congress Group, which always cry from the housetop that they are the sole representatives of the mass of Bengal and they are the only people who can speak for all the communities. We have heard the speeches of all prominent persons in the eyes of Bengal present on the Opposition Bench of this Assembly. Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee is one, a brilliant scholar of the Calcutta University, and Principal of Law College, spoke with his usual rhetoric and eloquence. I used to know his name in the Presidency College although he was junior to me, and I think the great educationist Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee will come to-morrow with his usual eloquence, with his keen and clever advocacy, which is particularly distinguished for making out a case where there is none. So, in the face of all these, it is not possible for members on this side of the House to meet the Opposition with the eloquence, sophistry, and the advocacy of cunning lawyers in Court. When they are sure that they will lose their case, they adopt delaying tactics by asking for adjournments

and raising technical objections on one ground or other. If ever there was any measure in the Assembly that could be morally certain of its merit and reason and the unreasonable attitude of the Opposition it is this. The Opposition, claiming Calcutta University to be their monopoly, would not part with their vested interests in secondary education unless forced to do so. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq has been unusual in his introduction of this Secondary Education Bill. I have never seen him read a long written speech lasting for 68 minutes.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Because, the case is weak.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: It is not so. I think nobody can produce better speech than the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. I think he has certainly done it himself. It is well documented and well reasoned, and well explained and comprehensive in all its details. He is of course guilty of one thing. That is the infirmity of a noble mind. I think he has been forced to a long speech by his overcautious anxiety to placate the Calcutta University, to placate the Hindu interests in this hesitant measure. It has been conceived in a spirit of reconciliation with the pecuniary interest of Calcutta University. I expected criticism from members that he had not given full effect to the recommendations of the Saddler Commission and other committees and conferences that had sat from 1919 to 1936. There have been commissions, committees and conferences and all with one voice have declared in certain terms that secondary education is no function of the Calcutta University or any other university. There was once a time when our country was backward. The Calcutta University and two other universities of Madras and Bombay were created after the model of the London University, which was then the only examining university in England and which is no longer a model university. But London has also revised its own methods, and the Calcutta University with its expansion of post-graduate teaching, ought to do so in order to devote itself more to its proper function, viz., looking after college education, and not to occupy itself with secondary education. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq is a product of the Calcutta University, and I know he had personal touch with the great Vice-Chancellor, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Therefore, he might have a soft corner for the Calcutta University, and that is the reason why he has brought a hesitant measure like the present Bill and has drawn unmerited criticism—of financial and technical—on his head.

Sir, he is guilty of disservice to the Dacca University Board. This is really a full-fledged Board created on the lines of the recommendation of the Sadler Commission, and which is a Board fashioned after the model of the United Provinces Intermediate Board and other Boards set up. The recommendation of the Sadler Commission was

to take the two lower classes of the colleges and connect them with the high school. The secondary school should provide not only theoretical or literary education, but also should provide what is technically called modern school with vocational education. In spite of that, Mr. Fazlul Huq has brought in a Secondary Education Bill doing away with the Dacca University Intermediate Board, controlling two lower classes of the college in Dacca area. Thereby, he has even expanded the sources of income to the Calcutta University, because he has left the conduct of the Matriculation Examination intact to the Calcutta University with its considerable income. So long, the Calcutta University was not getting the income of the Dacca University area in the direction. I do not know whether this was done to placate Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, for whose ability and keenness of intellect I have got very great regard, or I do not know whether he wanted to convince the Opposition or the Calcutta University of his sincerity or its generous concession, or its error on the side of Hindu interests. As a lawyer of experience, he ought to have known conviction is unknown in the realm of party politics as in the domain of forensic courts. An easy word, a powerful weapon of offence and defence in hands of our Hindu friends or a coined charge is often laid at the door of Mussalmans, the majority community, in the Legislature as well as outside to scare away our public men and deter them from doing bare justice to their Muslim community. That word or charge is "Communalism". Communalism by repetition has acquired a sinister meaning and our European friends also do feel nervous in supporting the right cause of Muslims, as in their own country they understand "nationalism" only or the question of one homogenous nation. Mr. Fazlul Huq has certainly been disillusioned by the attitude of the Opposition and votaries of Calcutta University monopolists in his gesture.

The Sadler Commission went thoroughly into the question of the state of rapid growth of secondary education on unhealthy and unprofitable channel with the great champion of Calcutta University and in clear terms pressed for thorough reform of secondary schools by developing modern practical schools and for freedom from the control of Calcutta University. I had occasion to meet a party of this Commission or Auxiliary Committee at Chittagong in 1928-29, I do not remember. I remember a friend of mine remarked then that the small head of Sir Sadler was no match for the big head of Sir Asutosh in breaking his monopoly or of the Calcutta University. (Laughter.) This has proved true. For the last 21 years, the public opinion, the Statutory Commission, Committees and Conferences, pressed for the establishment of a Secondary Education Board without any difference of opinion, but Calcutta University have managed to postpone its start

in spite of its agreement with the recommendations and opinions set forth above. Government attempts in the past and present have failed to reconcile the custodians of Calcutta University; the result is old state of menacing expansion of high schools at the sacrifice of quality or efficiency and to the detriment of utility.

We have just now heard what the Speaker has jocosely termed the maiden speech of Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy who seems to know his art of driving his point by ironical criticism of his adversary equiposed by humour and is certainly an accomplished speaker. He is known as one of "the big five of Calcutta" in the Hindu community. He spoke aside in his speech to his Opposition Group: "We may have eloquence, logic, we may have reason on our side, but without votes of an unthinking majority we do not count." Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal also one day hinted at our majority to be unthinking follower of ministry while I was speaking on another subject. This is an abuse by a minority obsessed by prejudice and passoinate interest and incapable of right thinking and pardonable. Mr. Roy claimed reason also to be on their side, by his erratic thinking. But that reason, I submit, Sir, is the only thing wanting with them. I admit eloquence, clever advocacy and sophistry are on their side certainly. Here on this side of the House I frankly admit that there is dearth of eloquent speakers and that sort of sly and clever advocates who can make a case out of nothing and bring it to the prominent notice of members and show it in bold relief to influence the opinion of others by appealing to their prejudiced hearts and sentiments. These qualities are of course wanting on this side, but Sir, the reason and justice, and true foundations of a case, are on our side. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Coalition Benches.)

Thanks to the technique of propaganda utilised and imported here from the west—a technique freely used by Hitler who says a false thing which by constant repetition may be made to appear to be a truth. Even silver can be made to appear as gold by propaganda. Such is the tactics which have been imported from the west, and I think that members of the Opposition are adepts in it and firsthand imitators of this western method. We are only thirdhand imitators and every body knows that thirdhand copyist cannot compare favourably with the first or secondhand copyists. We are of course learning it, but we are no match for those who have already mastered the art.

Sir, it has been said that public opinion is not behind this proposed Bill. After all, what is public opinion? It is the opinion of a few intelligent and cunning people at the top who seduce the passive unconcerned masses to their views by manipulation, propaganda to suit

their purpose. But in this case public opinion on the subject has been expressed for the last 20 years. It is not the opinion of Shyam, Jadu, Rahim. It is the opinion of those who have tried the school educational system and who know how the education of the country should be conducted. Sir, I am not a very great admirer of ballot-box democracy. I agree with Mr. N. R. Sarker in that respect. But, Sir, our Legislature is a replica of the British Parliament and so-called democracy of which the Opposition and the Congress are great champions and talk of it in and out of season. If so, how can you ignore this democracy? If public opinion is expressed by the members of this Legislature whatever its composition may be, how can you say that it is an artificial majority? Supposing you have got power here as you had in the seven Congress provinces, how would you have decided your issues? You decided your cases with the strength of the majority there. So, it is not the fault of Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Government if they propose to decide this matter by a majority of votes here. When this decision is backed up by reason and justice and by the expert opinion of several stautory committees and commissions from 1919 to 1937, do you say that the action of this Government is a communal or a reactionary measure and a measure calculated to do injustice to the Hindus of Bengal? I go further and may quote the considerate opinion of not a Muslim or European politician or educationist but no less a person than Professor Nilkanta Shastri of Madras University, a champion of Hindu rights, who said the other day in 1936 published in "Hindu," September, 1937, that the only remedy for the deplorable state of teachers and taught in our secondary schools is State control opposed to local control. This puts the case of Mr. Fazlul Huq's Bill on a much firmer ground. In a committee of seven, even if four members are Muhammadans and three Hindus, the Hindus will still be able to gain their point in spite of this nominal majority of the Muhammadans is my experience. But what is the case here? Is the proposed Board really communal in composition? Mr. Wordsworth supported the Government motion, but I cannot appreciate his speech fully, and the way in which he advocated the Government Bill. He supported Government but, at the same time, put a sting in the tail. He said: "swallow communalism." We do not want him to swallow but to understand what it is. Why should a man be afraid of communalism? Why should Mr. Fazlul Huq embark upon a lengthy lecture for fear of being dubbed a communalist? If I were convinced of the justice of my case, I would not care whether I am dubbed as a communalist or not. I think with late Lord Minto, "Veritable coward is he who is afraid of being called weak and partial." A member of the Opposition party said that if this Board came into existence, great injustice would be done to the Hindus. I think not. The Hindus are powerful enough in education matters to protect their interest in any

Board officialised and non-officialised. Officials, particularly Europeans, are more in love with them than with Muslims. I should like to remind the House with great respect of what Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee said some time ago. He said, "We are not going to tolerate this—our Hindu boys reading books in which idolatory is condemned and beef is extolled." Sir, I shall put one question to him. I would ask him that when for the last 50 or 60 years the Muhammadan boys had to read Ramayana and Mahabharata without knowing anything about Abu Bakar and other saints of Islam, when they were taught in the schools by compulsion such things as polytheism, idolatry or polyandry from the stories in Ramayana and Mahabharata, how could they put up? Perhaps the reply would be that the Muslims did not protest. I admit it may be so. But could they stand against the Hindu authority to have the syllabus revised? There were secondary schools in our days when Muslim boys were compelled to take Sanskrit or Bengali as their second language for want of provision in Arabic and Persian. Such is the condition even till recently. They have got to attend Saraswati Puja also in some cases. The word "nationalism" or national sovereignty is at a discount in the country of its origin even. The hollowness of the word has been exposed. Nationalism or national sovereignty is a western invention. Now the people are talking of democracy and they say that nationalism is democracy. International League and world union is not talked of. I submit, Sir, that nationalism is only another kind of communalism in the name of the nation. I say it is worse than communalism. In India what is the position? There was a series of successive superpositions of three cultures. One culture was the primitive culture which the Aryans drove out 3,000 years ago. Then came the Islamic culture in the 12th century and in the 16th century came the western culture, and now India is a blend of three cultures. How can you expect to drive out one culture and instal another through the help of a university or a board in these days of awakening? In the early days of British rule in this country, it was the determined policy of the Government of the time with help of the Hindus to drive the Muhammadans out of the field of education and powers. This resulted in aloofness of Muslims out of sheer necessity. Sir, I repeat that it was not the Muslims who were responsible for it. It was the Hindus whose alliance with the British was really responsible for it. It was due to the then deliberate policy followed by the Government and the university afterwards that the Muslims lagged behind in modern education in this province. The Hindus did not like that our position should be improved in any way. All the schools in the province were manned by Hindu teachers and Muslim teachers were substituted ruthlessly by Hindus in early days. All these things have been recorded by Sir William Hunter in the report of "Indian Mussalmans". The Muslims have now made much leeway and they are going

to take control of the administration of their education in proportion. So, why should there be any heart-burning on this account and beating of breasts which, I think, is propaganda with a motive behind?

Sir, it has been repeatedly said by press—Hindu Press—that the only motive which lies behind the introduction of this Bill is communal and reactionary in character. How can it be called reactionary and anti-Hindu simply because the control of secondary education is being taken out of the hands of the university and put into those of a Board with some Muslims in it? On the Board there would be officials as well as Hindu non-official experts. Let us take, for instance, that section of the Bill which deals with the composition of the Board. It has been said that 19 seats have been given to Muslims, but really it is not 19 for the Vice-Chancellors of the Dacca University and the Calcutta University may not always be Muslims—both of them may be Hindus. So, really there will be 18 Muslim members.

Again, it has been said that the Muslims will dominate in the Board. How can that be so? On the Board, there will be so many Hindus, there will be educationsists on the Board and the officials and the Europeans also will be there. Mr. Wordsworth is always against communalism. By his long association with the university, he has learned what is communalism. I knew him while I was a student. I know his views. I am to believe he is not at all a communalist and he does not love his community. He officiated as the Director of Public Instruction. Now, does he not fight for the interests of the Europeans or the Anglo-Indians? Does he not love his own community more than any other community? If love for one's own community is called narrow-mindedness or if it is called communalism, then love for one's own nation is also communalism, and nationalism is nothing but communalism.

Now, our Chief Minister the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq has been accused of following communalism in the sphere of education and two objections have been raised against this Bill by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker. Sir, let me dispose of these objections——

Mr. SPEAKER: Please try to finish as you have already spoken for 22 minutes.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: All right, Sir.

The first objection is that there is no movement of public opinion behind this Bill, as recommended by the Sadler Commission, and the second objection is the lack of provision for increased expenditure on secondary education from the public fund. Now, as regards the first objection, it is true and it has been admitted by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq himself that he has not consulted the Calcutta University

authorities on this Bill. Well, for that reason can it be said that there is no public opinion behind it? Is it not true that there have been several Commissions and Committees throughout India from the year 1913 up to the year 1936 which have recommended the establishment of such a Board for the control of secondary education? The Central Advisory Committee on Education also recommended it. In the year 1936, such a Board was recommended by no less a personage than Sir Philip Hartog who was the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University and while speaking in the London Institute, he also stressed the necessity for the establishment of a Secondary Education Board. So, can it be said with any justice that there is no movement of public opinion behind this Bill?

Sir, may I now put forward one aspect of the question? This university is competent and its time and energy are fully occupied in controlling higher education of the province. So, will it not be fair to relieve the university of the responsibility of looking after the secondary education also in schools so that it might be moulded according to the planned scheme of a Secondary Education Board? Sir, somebody has suggested that the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq wants control for control's sake, but is it not far more true if I say that the Opposition wants to oppose the motion for reference to the Select Committee for the sake of opposition because the only motive behind such opposition and their motion for circulation is that the Bill be shelved so that the Board may not come into existence? What other purpose will be served by circulating the Bill at this stage? After the Bill comes back from the Select Committee, the members of the House will have ample opportunity to make further improvements wherever necessary.

Now, Sir, here I will refer to one thing very sad, and I refer to it most reluctantly. This Government has been threatened by the Hindus with boycott and they have said that they will set up a National Council of Education in order to make this Board inoperative. This suggestion has come from no other person than the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. If you read his speech delivered a few days ago, you will find out his real object. He is the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, but the Congress is not willing to join with him. So he wants to rally round him all conflicting Hindu forces on a fight against this Bill and later on to abolish the Communal Award. But what connection has the Communal Award got with this Board? The hollowness of the motion for circulation can thus be seen at once. Sir, I do not like to say anything here which would offend the Hindus, but, Sir, it is apparent from the way in which they are carrying on the agitation against this Bill that their real intention is to dislodge this Government and set up a cabinet of their own coterie by abolishing the Communal Award.

Now, Sir, it is a sight for the gods to see that Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker to-day joins hands with the Opposition and has taken his seat there. He accused the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq of being a communalist lately and he has said that nomination is given to the worst man and not to the right man. But, Sir, may I point out that he occupied a seat on the cabinet for some years and while in enjoyment of that seat, he could swallow all these things. Did he ever raise his voice of protest against these things at that time? Was he not the result of nomination in the cabinet? If not, could he have any chance in preference to Congress stalwarts?

Sir, the other objection raised is the lack of provision for increased public expenditure on secondary education. Now, Sir, it has been provided that the sum of Rs. 25 lakhs will continue to be spent for secondary education and also one lakh more. There is a further provision that more money will be provided whenever necessity arises. Government could easily provide more money for secondary education, but, in that case, they would have to do so by taking away conduct of Matriculation Examination from the Calcutta University. Let us not forget this fact. But as a matter of fact, we do not require more money for secondary education at the present moment. The expenditure would be spread over several years. Now, if in future we find that the Board is well constituted and it is managing its affairs quite well and that it requires more money for expansion, then, Sir, I can assure the House, that there will be no dearth of will on this side of the House to press the Government to provide more money for the purpose.

Sir, I admit that there are defects in the present Bill, but these can be removed in the Select Committee. But I wish the Select Committee will see the scope of the Board is widened like other Boards in other provinces.

Sir, with these words, I oppose the motion for circulation.

Miss MIRA DUTTA GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the arguments advanced so far in support of the motion for circulation of the Secondary Education Bill are so convincing and exhaustive that I consider it unnecessary to seek the indulgence of this House to add any more to them. I would not have spoken at all but for an important point raised by my honourable friend Mrs. Murshed. She has said that the main charge of the oppositionists is that the Bill is communal in character because of the composition of the Board and the other Committees proposed in the scheme. I do not think that Mrs. Murshed has done justice to the case of the oppositionists. Whatever may be the position of this Bill from the standpoint of representation, it is quite plain to all that the Bill suffers from a serious defect—and that is, too much

official control. The cause of education should suffer if it is controlled by men not in close touch with the educational needs of the community. We do not want a complete *laissezfaire* in the world of education. If there is to be any control, it must be a rational one. The entire policy of education must be shaped largely by men who have made education their chief vocation in life. As one directly connected with one of the biggest educational institutions of this province, I say without any hesitation that the Education Bill before us will cause a great setback to the progress of education in this province. A careful scrutiny of the Bill will reveal that it aims only at control, but it is curiously silent on the question of expansion. Progress in education will not come of official control; it will be the result of a policy of expansion. Therefore I support the motion for circulation.

Adjournment.

It being 8-40 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Wednesday, the 28th August, 1940, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 28th August, 1940, at 4-45 p.m

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 218 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

***210. The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY:** May I suggest, Sir, that this question stand over to-day owing to the absence of Sir Nazimuddin?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, but the Home Department should have known that these questions in the name of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin should not have been sent to this department on days when the Hon'ble Minister is absent.

The next question (No. 211) stands in the name of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca. I find that he also is absent. So this question also is held over for the present.

Improvement of Panipia Khal of Contai subdivision, Midnapore.

***212. Mr. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that the vents of the Panipia sluice in the subdivision of Contai, district Midnapore, is not working well;

(*ii*) that the arches of the vents of the sluice gate have gone down; and

(*iii*) that the outfall channel has silted up?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps the Government have taken in the matter?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a new scheme has been drawn up by the Government for the improvement of the drainage system of the Panipia basin?

(d) If the answer to (c) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the scheme is likely to be given effect to?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar): (a) (i) and (ii) No.

(iii) Yes, to some extent.

(b) The outfall channel is expected to be cleared of silt before the next flood season.

(c) and (d) I understand that a scheme for the improvement of the Panipia *khal* was approved by the Agriculture and Industries Department in 1931 for execution under the Agricultural and Sanitary Improvement Act of 1920, but it requires revision as local conditions have altered.

Inundation caused by Coriadaha Khal in police-station Baliakandi, Faridpur.

*213. **Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA:** (a) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department aware—

(i) that a sudden inrush of water in the early part of the rainy season in Goriadaha *khal* from river Gorai in police-station Baliakandi in the district of Faridpur causes destruction of crops every year;

(ii) that distressed condition prevails almost every year within 9 unions of police-station Baliakandi and Pangsa;

(iii) that these chains of *bils*, about 30 in number, used to drain them out through the said *khal*, with the subsiding of the flood;

(iv) that a few years back this area was known to be the best paddy-growing area of the subdivision;

(v) that the connections between the *bils* and the general route to the Goriadaha *khal* have deteriorated; and

(vi) that the *bils* and the surrounding area now remain water-logged and as a consequence no paddy and *rabi* crop can grow in major part of the area?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action he proposes to take in the matter and when?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: (*a*) (*i*) In some years, a sudden inrush of water in the early part of the rainy season causes damage to paddy in the low-lying areas of the unions bordering the Gorai river.

(*ii*) No.

(*iii*) I understand that the Goriadaha *khal* is still the main drainage channel of these *bils* although its upper reach has deteriorated.

(*iv*) I have no information.

(*v*) Yes.

(*vi*) I have no information that areas previously under cultivation are now lying water-logged and uncultivated.

(*b*) A contour survey of the area has recently been made, and hydraulic data collected. A scheme for the improvement of the locality is expected to be ready next year.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether the scheme for the improvement of the river Chandana comprises a scheme for the improvement of the locality?

The Hon'ble Maharaja SRISCHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: No, Sir, the Chandana scheme is a more comprehensive scheme. The scheme referred to concerns a smaller area only.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Sale-deeds registered and fees realised in certain Sub-Registry Offices in Mymensingh district.

108. Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education (Registration) Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing for the last three years—

(*a*) the number of sale-deeds registered; and

(*b*) the fees realised in the Sub-Registry Offices at—

(1) Iswarganj,

(2) Gouripur, and

(3) Nandail,

in the district of Mymensingh?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): A statement is laid on the table.

Statement referred to in the reply to unstarred question No. 108.

	1937.	1938.	1939.	Total.
Number of sales including exchanges.				
Iswarganj ..	1,346	1,592	2,377	5,315
Gauripur ..	731	936	1,549	3,216
Nandail ..	1,219	1,413	2,588	5,220
Fees realised thereon.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
Iswarganj ..	1,862 14	2,378 2	4,129 6	8,370 6
Gauripur ..	860 12	1,097 10	2,265 2	4,223 8
Nandail ..	1,911 14	2,273 2	4,557 0	8,742 0

Adjournment Motion.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before we proceed further, may I bring to your notice that I gave notice of an adjournment motion. I have got your consent for the same. May I move it now?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have also received notice of another adjournment motion by Mr. Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy and so far as these two adjournment motions are concerned, I do not want to waste the time of the House by dwelling at length on their admissibility or otherwise. One is in connection with the arrest of three persons, members of this House, and another is in connection with the scavengers' strike. On the statement made, the motion regarding the strike is not in order, but I shall have to examine the motion very carefully because it involves certain questions affecting members of this Assembly. So I am not prepared to give any decision to-day; I shall take it up to-morrow.

So far as the other motion is concerned, if you want to keep it over till to-morrow that may be done; otherwise, I feel it is not in order on your own statement. I will explain the reasons later on.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Regarding my adjournment motion, Sir, it does not speak of any arrest of members at all, but it relates to the preservation of health and public security—and this I can explain to you if you kindly give me time—it is that the Corporation authorities have deliberately ignored the duties imposed upon

them by statute and now it is up to the Government to take up this matter. So I hope, Sir, you will please take up my adjournment motion to-morrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I shall see to it.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri has not been able to make out a case for circulating the Bill to elicit public opinion. Why no useful purpose will be served by so circulating the Bill was explained to the House by the Hon'ble the Premier the other day? I do not like to deal further on the point. It is sufficient to say that I oppose his motion.

The Bill before us has given rise to public criticism, but much of the criticism has been misdirected Everyone recognises the need for reform and everyone realises that the present system of secondary education is not adapted to the needs of the province. The question is how the desired reform can be effected. Is it by continuing the present dual control of the Calcutta University and the Department of Education or by leaving the whole control to the Calcutta University or by entrusting with a strong All-Bengal Board the responsibility for secondary education? The present dual control has been condemned by all educationists and also by the expert body like the Calcutta University Commission. There is no question that this dual control must now cease. Sir, can the University of Calcutta then be considered a suitable body for the control of the secondary education of the province? Two years before in my letter to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister I pointed out why the University of Calcutta is not well fitted to undertake the responsibility of directing and controlling secondary education of the province. I said then:—

The Commission recognised as a preliminary to the satisfactory organisation of public education in Bengal the necessity for delimiting the frontier which should divide the province of a university from that of secondary education. They mentioned in several places of their report and in different ways that it is not in the interest of the nation that secondary education should be the direct concern of a university. But the university should have a voice in its control, inasmuch as the high schools prepare the students for admission into the university. The University of Calcutta is at present encumbered with functions which cannot be properly called university works. As a result, it has failed to give the abler students the educational opportunities which

they deserve. The Commission records: "The first question which we put to our correspondents asked whether the existing system of university education affords to young Indians of ability full opportunity of obtaining the highest training. An overwhelming majority replied in the negative." It is no wonder if such a result occurs when the university appropriates to itself the functions which cannot be called its own. And it is no wonder that secondary education should suffer from anæmia as referred to in the report of the Commission when the control of secondary education is entrusted with a body which does not feel a real concern for such education. Thus the Calcutta University cannot be a suitable body for the control of secondary education.

There is another reason, no less important, why the University of Calcutta is not a suitable body for the purpose. The university should have given the aid necessary to the healthy development of all sections of the people of the province so as to help the growth of one nation. Much of the ill-feeling between the different communities of the province is due to the educational policy pursued by the university. In shaping its educational policy, the university has never taken into consideration the needs and sentiments of one great community, viz., the Muslim community, which forms 56 per cent. of the population of the province. No nation can be great unless it learns to respect its own culture and traditions. The University of Calcutta is responsible for presenting the past history of India to the schoolboys in a manner that it carries an impression that anything that is Hindu is good and anything that is Muslim is bad The result is that every Muslim boy who receives the training at an institution under the control of the Calcutta University grows with the idea that he belongs to an inferior stock and thus develops an interiority complex. He loses self-confidence and becomes timid in his attitude towards life.

"A nation whose larger part is not self-reliant but timid cannot but be a crippled nation. Again, in the distorted history of India presented to the school students, the Hindu boys find the Muslim rulers oppressing their Hindu subjects The Hindu boys cannot take kindly to the Muslim boys and begin to develop a feeling of hatred towards them. This explains much of the bitterness between the two great communities of the province, and the educational policy of the university is responsible for this state of things... .."

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What are you reading from?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): I am reading from my letter to the Chief Minister.

"An examination of the educational policy of the university will convince one that in formulating its educational policy, it has proceeded on the basis that the people of Bengal is homogeneous and Hindu in

character. It has completely ignored the distinct cultural and educational needs of the Muslims. This policy has been so successful that even the distinguished public men of the Hindu community cannot appreciate the distinctive character and excellence of Muslim culture and Muslim sentiments, as these gentlemen happen to be the product of education provided by the Calcutta University——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. May I know if the honourable member is reading out from any public document or if he is reading out from any private or confidential letter or correspondence? If it is the latter, I would request you to find out whether it is permissible for a member to read or quote any private correspondence that he might have had.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): It is an open letter to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is it a public document?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a public document, but I know it is a published document. (Laughter.)

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): "The university has lost a great opportunity of rendering a national service and has done positive harm to the nation. It is no wonder that the Muslims have lost confidence in this university. This is an additional reason why this university should not be made responsible for secondary education in the province. That a body which does not command the confidence of all sections of the people of the province should not be entrusted with the control of secondary education is also the view of the Calcutta University Commission. A further reason why the Calcutta University should be denied the control of secondary education is that its senate and syndicate are not representative bodies."

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Who wrote out this letter for you? Dr. Jenkins?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): I don't reply to mean insinuations.

Sir, I have already pointed out that the existing dual control should cease and that the Calcutta University is not a suitable body to take up the duties. Anyone who has the welfare of the province at heart will agree that the administration of secondary education in Bengal should be vested in a strong and representative Board. Here, Sir, I should like to refer to the statement that was made by Mr. Wordsworth yesterday. He did not correctly represent to the House when he said

that the Conference did not come to any conclusion. Technically it may be right to say that the Conference was not a success, but the Conference did decide that there should be a Board with all the powers including the power of holding Matriculation Examination immediately in this province. That was the conclusion of that Conference and they also accepted in principle the communal representation referred to by Mr. Wordsworth.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Which Conference? Party Conference?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): No, it was not a Party Conference. It was the Conference referred to by Mr. Wordsworth. It was a Conference in which the representatives of the two universities were present, and it was held, I think, in 1930.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Question! The University of Calcutta was never consulted.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): That Conference on the whole admitted that there should be representation of the communities on the Board. It is only on the extent of that representation that the Conference broke down. Therefore, I say that it did accept this Board.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Were you a member representing your university?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): Yes.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. I find there is a reference made on the floor of the House to what happened at an alleged Conference. The House is not cognisant of any public Conference of this character. If a reference is to be made to any discussion or any deliberation in that Conference, we would like to know what the character of that Conference was, who were the representatives at the Conference, how was it constituted, whether the several universities, as my friend is claiming, were invited officially by the Education Department or the Chief Minister, whoever might have convened the Conference, to send representatives and whether the House, as was referred to by Mr. Wordsworth yesterday, was officially invited to send representatives, or certain blessed educationists like Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal were taken on by nomination to represent certain parties in the House. If these points are not cleared, it is no use referring to that Conference.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that it can be ruled out of order on that account. During the discussions on the Co-operative Bill you referred to a memorandum without placing it before the House.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: And, therefore, I had to hand it over to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: Quite so. But so far as I am concerned, I am quite satisfied that Mr. Fazlur Rahman's speech is in order.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The point of order is whether a Conference which is not within the public knowledge of the members can be referred to without giving the details of the Conference such as the composition thereof, the membership thereof and how it was constituted.

Mr. SPEAKER: Wait and see. He may give references.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): For the success of any measure of reform in secondary education, the Board should have the same powers, the same relations with the Government and the composition based on the same principle as recommended by the Commission. This was also the view of the Dacca University in 1928 when it was called upon by the Government to express its views on a similar Bill. The powers of the proposed Board may now be examined. "The powers of prescribing syllabus and curricula and of publishing text-books have been rightly vested in the Board." The Board has also the power of distributing grant-in-aid, but a complaint has been made that the fund will be insufficient. Yes, this will be insufficient if a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs is only available to the Board. But it has been forgotten that the 25 lakhs of rupees which have been provided in the Bill is a statutory minimum that the Government will be required to pay to the Board every year in addition to one lakh of rupees for the maintenance of the office of the Board. The present expenditure on grants to secondary schools and madrassahs made by Government is Rs. 22,20,738, but the Board will be getting now Rs. 25 lakhs, that is an excess of Rs. 2,79,262 over the present expenditure on grant-in-aid. The Government spend at present a further sum of Rs. 1,40,108 on scholarships and Rs. 52,500 on building grants. There is no reason why this sum of Rs. 2,92,608 should not be made available by the Government to the Board in addition to this statutory minimum grant. Another fact we should remember in this connection that a profitable source of income has been placed at the disposal of the Board inasmuch as it will be able to publish text-books for all the

classes of secondary schools. The profit amounting to several lakhs of rupees will necessarily accrue. It is also expected that the Government may be persuaded to give further sums, if necessary, to the Board for enabling the Board to discharge its duties effectively.

The Board has also the power of inspection, but the Inspectors for the present will be Government servants. I quite realise the difficulties why Government cannot at present make the Government Inspectors servants of the Board. The permanent contracts that have been made between these officers and the Government stand in the way.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Are you supporting the motion for circulation? These are arguments for circulation.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): I see no reason why the services of the Government Inspectors should not be placed at the disposal of the Board and should not be made subject to the administrative control of the President. If this has not been made clear in the Bill, it will be done in the Select Committee. The Board has not been given the power of holding the Matriculation Examination. How without this power the Board will be ineffective has been ably described by the distinguished educationist, Rai Lalit Mohan Chatterjee Bahadur, the former Chairman of the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, in the annual report of the Board for the session, 1926-27. I am quoting from that report. The report says: "If Intermediate education is left entirely with the Calcutta University and the Matriculation Examination is also left with them, as the university claims, even supposing that the recognition of high schools comes to be transferred to a Provincial Board, the only functions of the Board will be the recognition of schools, their inspection and supervision and the distribution of grants. In Bengal, however, experience has shown that the standard of examination determines to a large extent the character of the teaching in the schools. The efficiency of the schools, therefore, will depend not on the Board so much as on the authority that conducts the Matriculation Examination. As regards the distribution of grants-in-aid, unless a widespread system of substantial and compulsory grants is introduced, the control of the Board over schools will also be small. Withdrawal of recognition is an extreme penalty which can be but rarely inflicted. In will be seen, therefore, that, in the circumstances stated above, the Board will not have a free hand in organising and improving secondary education.....whoever knows the mentality of the Bengali youth cannot have a moment's doubt, the conducting of the Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations by the university will mean that secondary education will continue to be dominated solely, as now, by academic ideals, a thing which in itself may be good, but which is

undesirable in the present economic condition of the country. It is only a representative and independent Board, a Board with real power and working in close touch with the people, that can take in hand the problem of secondary education and solve it gradually."

Sir, this was also the view of the Calcutta University Commission. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, then Mr., himself held this view in 1929. An extract from the report of the committee appointed by the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, at its meeting held on 19th February, 1929, on the draft Bill regarding a Board of Secondary Education in Bengal, is given below, and I may add that Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee was a member of that committee.

"Even assuming that a single Board is created for the whole of Bengal as proposed in the Bill, we are of opinion that the conduct of the Matriculation Examination and the prescription of courses and selection of text-books for it should be vested in the Board. Without these powers the Board, we think, will be a crippled and ineffective body. The holding of the Matriculation Examination by any other body will go against that unity of control which the Calcutta University Commission considered to be essential whatever authority was entrusted with the regulation of secondary education. This control, we think, should rest with the Board.

"Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee thinks that under existing circumstances the Matriculation Examination should remain under the Calcutta University. He admits, however, that theoretically the examination should be conducted by the Board and he would himself agree to the transfer (1) when Government fully compensated the university for consequent loss of the Matriculation fee receipts; (2) when the Board came to enjoy the confidence of the public.

"We fully agree with our colleague on the first point and we are making our recommendations in this respect on the assumption that the Calcutta University will be adequately compensated for its loss. But as regards the second point we think that a Board that is not permitted to conduct its own examination can never be in a position to earn the confidence of the public because it can never do any real work."

Therefore, if the Government of Bengal attempts to establish a Board which has not the power of holding the Matriculation Examination, that Board will never earn the confidence of the public. This is a real and serious defect in the Bill. This defect has occurred because of the fact that the Government wants to be generous to the University of Calcutta. But this is a matter of such public importance that Government should not have been so generous to the detriment of secondary education. We propose to remove this defect in the Select Committee.

Sir, I now like to examine the composition of the Board. (At this stage the blue light lit up.) Sir, the time that has been lost through interruptions should be made up.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can finish your speech in another five minutes.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN (Dacca): All right, Sir. As I was saying, Sir, I now like to examine the composition of the Board. The consideration of this matter has become delicate in view of the unfair criticism that has been made against the composition of the Board. I therefore like to view this question in the light of recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission on the subject. Sir, I shall simply enumerate them, for I do not like to quote these extracts *in extenso* to point out what was the recommendation about the composition of the Board. I submit, Sir, that no recommendation of the Commission has been departed from as far as the composition of the Board is concerned. The Commission recommended that the two Universities of Calcutta and Dacca should have an effective representation in the Board; whether this representation as proposed in the Bill is effective or not, was explained to the House by the Hon'ble the Premier the other day. The second recommendation of the Commission was that in order its policy may be kept in harmony with the requirements of practical careers, the Board should include representatives of agriculture, industry and commerce. This representation, as the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has already said, should be made by nomination. That was also the recommendation of the Commission. Then, Sir, the third recommendation of the Commission was that "its members should include a medical man with experience in the problems of public health." This recommendation in substance is accepted by the Government. The Director of Physical Education has been made a member of the proposed Board. The fourth recommendation was: "One or more persons experienced in teaching and well acquainted with the present conditions of work in secondary schools, in Bengal should have a place on the Board." This recommendation has also been embodied in the Bill. Five Head Masters, one Head Mistress, and one Principal of a madrassah have been given place on the proposed Board.

After making the above recommendations, the Commission went on saying: "But, in addition to those elements which we have enumerated, there are three others which appear to us to be indispensable constituents of the Board. First, there should be a personal link between the Board and the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and Council. Secondly, the Director of Public Instruction should be *ex-officio* a member of the Board, because his experience will be of the highest value in its deliberations and because

a close connection will be maintained in this way between the Boar and the Department of Public Instruction. Thirdly, there should b an adequate representation of Hindu and Muslim opinion and interest It is clear that the success of the Board's work will depend upon i combining expert judgment with an intimate knowledge of the nee and sentiments of the community which it serves."

All the above recommendations of the Commission have bee embodied in the Bill. Much criticism has been levelled against th composition of the Board on the ground that it is communal i character, but I should like to place before this House what th Calcutta University Commission said in this regard: "We shoul emphasize therefore the importance of securing for the Mussalman who form so important a part of the population of Bengal effective representation upon the Board of Secondary and Intermediat Education. Their educational traditions require a special attention. It is no good crying down the claims of the Muslims who must hav an equal share in every sphere of the administration of the province whether educational, political or social. It may be mentioned her that the Muslims are determined to have at least 50 per cent. voice i every sphere of the administration. The sooner it is recognised, th better for the nation. This would avoid much of the misunderstandin and bitterness between the two great communities of the province (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Why not representation in the percentag of passes also?) The other recommendations of the Commission on th matter of composition to the Board were: There should be representa tion on the Board to represent the education of girls and the educationa interest of the domiciled community. Adequate provisions have bee made in the Bill to the effect. Secondly, there should be a Presiden of the Board, who should be a salaried and whole-time officer appointe by Government for a period of years to be defined. This recommenda tion has been embodied in the Bill. There should be no grievance o this score. The third recommendation is that a majority of the Boar should be non-officials, *i.e.*, not in receipt of a salary directly paid b Government.

An analysis of the provisions of the Bill will show that the presen Board also contains a large majority of non-officials as defined by th Commission.

Sir, what should be the relation between the Board and the Govern ment has been very clearly set forth by the Calcutta University Com mission. The Government of Bengal has made the Board mor autonomous than was contemplated by the Commission. I congratulat the Government for this wise step. The extent of the control, th Commission wanted the Government to have over the Board, woul be evident from a sentence quoted from their report. "We recommen therefore that the Government should have the power after due enquir

to require as an extreme measure the resignation of the Board." That is an extent of control, Sir, that was recommended by the Commission, that Government should have over the Board.

Then, Sir, I would draw the attention of the House to the great change that has recently been effected in the character of the Government. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Let the remaining portion of his speech be taken as read.) Sir, when the Commission reported, the Government then in power was irresponsible to the Legislature, but it has now become responsible to an elected Legislative Assembly. This change implies greater responsibility of the Government and consequently greater control to be exercised by Government over educational authorities. But the Government has exercised caution and restraint in not claiming more powers over the Board than what are implied in the recommendations of the Commission itself. So, the criticisms against the Bill in this respect are unwarranted.

With these few words, Sir, I support the motion for referring the Bill to the Select Committee.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to give my whole-hearted support to the motion for circulation of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill for eliciting public opinion thereon.

For four days, Sir, we have discussed in this Assembly with great earnestness and vehemence problems of education which await solution for the benefit of the children of the soil. During the last three years the present Ministry has been responsible for introducing various controversial legislative measures and performing administrative acts, but I believe, Sir, it will be true to assert that there has not been any measure so vital as this to the largest interests of the people of this province. Sir, I am opposed to the main principles underlying the present Bill, and I regard it not as a measure intended for educational advancement, but as a definitely reactionary step which requires the strongest possible resistance both inside and outside the Legislative Chamber.

Sir, oppposition to this measure is widespread and not confined to a limited few. Opposition is the natural outcome of fundamental differences in outlook, and any Government which has a grain of responsibility left in it will carefully and impartially take stock of the grounds for opposition and not force it only with its strength of majority of votes inside the Legislative Chamber. Secondary education, Sir, is perhaps the most important of all the educational stages in a country. For, on the one hand it links education up to the highest stages—it leads to a university life which can be developed to the best expectations of the nation. On the other hand, secondary education gives the nation a band of trained men and women in diverse spheres of useful activity, and again, Sir, it is through secondary

education that a country can be blessed with a large number of efficient teachers so essential for any progressive scheme of elementary education.

Sir, I regret to say that the speech which the Hon'ble the Chief Minister delivered or was made to deliver on the opening day of the discussion of this Bill—some portions of his speech at any rate—bore the marks of the bureaucratic standpoint so familiar in this country not many years ago, which was then also expressed eloquently but ignobly by a certain class of self-constituted Western administrators who came to join Imperial Services for preaching the doctrine of perpetual trusteeship and viewed educational expansion as a dangerous feature.

We have heard, Sir, unworthy aspersions made on the University of Calcutta. There is no system of education anywhere in the world which is perfect. None is aware more than myself of the shortcomings and deficiencies of my university. But bearing in mind the circumstances which brought it into existence, the motives that controlled its administration for the first half of a century, the meagre assistance the university and schools and colleges received from the State and the constitution it was made to work under, Sir, one cannot but feel grateful for the rich contributions it has made towards the development of our national life.

Sir, one speaker has said that the university has been an agency of British Imperialism. A greater libel could not have been uttered. The speaker stands self-contradicted, for he himself and thousands of other students and products of the university itself have bravely striven to rid India of foreign domination.

If the allegation is made that the university has not directly concerned itself with any political movement, I shall plead guilty to the charge. For, whatever may be our politics outside the university, that sacred seat of learning, whether in Calcutta or in any part of the civilized world, must not be turned into an arena of political warfare. If, however, it is said that the university has been an instrument in the hands of a foreign bureaucracy, I shall say, Sir, that it is an accusation which is as unworthy as it is baseless. Trace the events which stirred the minds of the people of this province during past political agitations. Attempts were made on many occasions to apply the laws of repression against men and institutions, and, Sir, who will deny that within the limited sphere of universities' powers, the University of Calcutta more than any other similar institution in India has kept its door open to all persons and institutions irrespective of political or other considerations? It is indeed remarkable that a university which was established by State action has fought against State control and interference in a manner which may worthily stand comparison with famous universities in any free country in any part

of the civilized world. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from Congress Benches.) Freedom first, freedom second and freedom always—this noble expression was uttered by a son of the university at the university senate with 80 per cent. of its members nominated by the Governor of Bengal and voiced by Hindus, Muslims and Europeans alike.

Sir, another critic asserted that the university has grievously neglected Muslim interests—a charge, Sir, which cannot for a moment stand the test of scrutiny. Though served predominantly by Hindus, equal opportunities for education were liberally given to all communities. The backwardness of a community cannot be cured by unjust and unfair aspersions made on the more progressive community or by placing artificial restrictions on the further advancement of the latter. As an incontrovertible evidence of the university's apathy towards Muslim interests, one of my friends to the left yesterday solemnly read out, followed by applause from Coalition Benches, certain extracts from a Bengali book containing alleged anti-Muslim sentiments. The condemnation was apparently complete, but the only slight hitch in the way of our accepting the condemnation arises from the fact that this very book, though only once a recommended book in the university list 7 years ago but omitted from it since then, has been a prescribed book sanctioned by the Text-book Committee of the Government of Bengal in 1937, in 1939 and in 1940. Any stick is good enough, provided it can strike the University of Calcutta, whether the attack is based on truth or reason is a matter of secondary importance!

Sir, the question of Muslim representatives on the university senate was referred by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister who regretted that the registered graduates never elected a Muslim fellow. There is no doubt that it is a matter of the deepest regret, but may I ask Mr. Fazlul Huq in all humility how many Muslims graduates have cared to enrol themselves as registered graduates of their *alma mater* and showed their readiness to pay a magnificient sum of Rs. 10 per year to the coffers of the university? We had 2 Muslim registered graduates in 1914, 4 in 1924, nil in 1934 and 4 in 1940. Comment is needless for even my friend Mr. Shahabuddin says, "Obviously comment is needless." Does this much advance the insistent claims of my friends to the left for an effective voice in all public bodies merely because they are numerically larger in population? What about the endowments? The university has received nearly 1 crore of rupees mostly during the last 34 years—a period when according to the Government it started on its course of deterioration and, Sir, of this 1 crore of rupees a sum of Rs. 24,000 came from our Muslim countrymen, about Rs. 9 lakhs came from the Christians and the rest came from the Hindus. If you want to control the university because you are the majority community in this province, I would say treat the university as liberally as the Hindus have treated their *alma mater*. Let me repeat that in

spite of Hindu liberality, the university has served all the communities alike and has steadily advanced the cause which it has made its own.

Sir, the ideas on which the university has grown during the last 40 years are compatible with the highest notions of Indian nationalism. The revival of a great seat of learning where Indian culture and civilisation would receive their due homage from Indian scholars, of a seat of learning where the highest scientific training would be imparted with the help of Indians, where east and west would meet on a footing of perfect equality and an Indian would be taught to feel proud of his national achievements without hesitating to imbibe the best element of western knowledge and skill—that has been the ideal which has inspired the work of persons connected with the University of Calcutta. There have been inherent weaknesses which prevented the university from a fuller participation in the national life of the country. But let us not forget that that has not been the fault of the university, but it is inexorably connected with the fate that belongs to every subject nation which has yet to attain its political freedom and make its universities and educational institutions fountains of free knowledge and free thought. The University of Calcutta has brought light and education to millions of our people. But for its bold and vigorous policy they would have remained steeped in ignorance to-day. Further, it has demonstrated the ability of Indians, this is an aspect of its activities which I specially like my Muslim friends to understand and appreciate, it has demonstrated the ability of Indian scholars to participate in the highest work of teaching and research and to carry on original investigations in diverse branches of knowledge, in letters and science, which have to a certain extent helped to raise the intellectual status of India. My mind goes back to 1904 when the deliberations on the Indian Universities Bill were going on and there, Sir, the ex-Director of Public Instruction of Bengal, himself a Fellow of the Royal Society, made an astounding statement that Indians as a whole were incapable of doing original research work. That challenge was accepted—first by the University of Calcutta among all the seats of learning in India, and it certainly redounds to the credit of us as Bengalis and as Indians that our sons have been found to be equal to others coming from western countries, where facilities for education are given far more generously than what can be expected in a poor province like Bengal.

The Chief Minister in his opening speech suggested as if the university's power in respect of high schools commenced only after the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. As a matter of fact, this power it has enjoyed almost since the establishment of the university in 1857. It is, therefore, essential to bear in mind that the Bill seeks to reverse a system that has been in operation for nearly 85 years and educational interests imperatively demand that the new

system would be a clear and unequivocal improvement upon the existing state of things consistent with the needs and aspirations of the people.

Let me now come to the period of the Sadler Commission. To-day after 22 years the Sadler Commission is being quoted with the same devotional loyalty as scriptures are quoted by a class of persons. (Cries of "Hear! hear!") Let me state at once that this Bill vitiates the fundamental recommendations of the Sadler Commission regarding the Board of Secondary Education. The Sadler Commission made elaborate recommendations for the reconstruction of most comprehensive character. It never approved of any piecemeal legislation, nor did it ever imagine that its proposals would be twisted and mutilated so as to enlarge the importance of control of and transfer of power to governmental authority. We have heard much about the defects of the present educational system, about the standard of education. Who is there who will be wholly satisfied with our educational system to-day? Who is there in any country whose people are wholly pleased with the education they receive and are not clamouring daily for further improvement and for further expansion? In our country secondary education has spread mainly through non-official support and patronage, and however much you may attack the university to-day 90 per cent. of the Indian members of this House sitting here would have remained without education unless the university had boldly followed a scheme of expansion of educational facilities and encouraged the opening of schools in the remotest corners of the province of Bengal. Numbers might have swelled at the cost of efficiency, but let me ask would efficiency have suffered in the way in which it had suffered had successive Governments considered it their duty to spend more on education?

It is often said that the university did nothing but to derive fees from the Matriculation Examination. That is far from the truth. What about the spirit underlying the new Matriculation Regulations? What is the history of the new Matriculation Examination which propounded a new educational theory now accepted practically throughout India? Sir, I would not deal here with the various attempts that were made by the university to give proper place to our mother tongue in the syllabus of studies of the university, but who will deny that one of the reasons why education has suffered in this country has been that English, a foreign tongue, has been the medium of our instruction from the lowest stage of education? That was discovered to be one of the chief defects in the Sadler Commission's Report. The Sadler Commission submited its report about 1919, and in 1921 that much-abused University of Calcutta called a Conference of Head Masters in Bengal and Assam and brought in the Managers of schools throughout the two provinces and sat to discuss how the educational system, so far

as the secondary stage was concerned, could be reorganized. Important recommendations were formulated based practically on the report of the Sadler Commission, but perhaps if the university erred it erred on the side that it went even a few steps more than what the Sadler Commission was prepared to go. Subject to obvious exceptions, vernacular was made the compulsory medium of instruction and examination. There was provision for physical education, manual work, science, history and geography. What happened then? The syndicate considered the recommendations; the faculties met; the senate met; weeks and months passed and its recommendations containing the considered viewpoint of the university and practically all the interested educational institutions in the two provinces were forwarded to the then Government of Bengal. Then what happened? The Government sat tight over the matter for two years. And you now talk of your anxiety to reform the educational system of Bengal! And two years later the reply went from the then Ministry of Education presided over by no less a person than the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. And Sir, what was the reply that the Government gave in 1924? The reply virtually was that Government, though sympathetic at heart, was unable to accept the proposals for educational reform propounded by the university. One of the reasons advanced by the then Government was that the university had gone even beyond the recommendations of the Sadler Commission because it sought to make the mother-tongue of the people the compulsory medium of instruction in schools. Then, Sir, you know and you know much better than anybody else how nearly eleven years passed before the Regulations could be approved by the Government of Bengal, during the period when the Hon'ble Mr. Azizul Haque was the Minister for Education. The fundamental principles that the university had proposed as early as 1922 were accepted by the progressive Government of Bengal in 1935. Not till 1940 could the first examination be held under the new Regulations. If, Sir, the province has lost nearly 20 years before these very important changes in the national system of education could be introduced, surely the blame does not rest with the university, but with other people some of whom are to-day clamouring for control as if control is the be-all and end-all of the educational existence.

Now, Sir, the university during the last 4 years has vigorously pursued the scheme for the training of teachers of secondary institutions and nearly 5,000 men and women have gone through the portals of the university. I know, Sir, that with the limited resources that we have, we have not been able to do as much as we would like to do. But here again I ask—what was the responsible Government doing and how was its responsibility discharged? Was it not incumbent upon the Government to provide for extensive schemes for the training of teachers and has not the Sadler Commission recommended that without training of teachers it is impossible to do anything for the advancement of

secondary ------tion? What again about the salaries of teachers? Has any step been taken for the purpose of giving increased pay to these poorly paid teachers who really form the backbone of educational administration to-day? Sir, I consider it a libel if anyone asserts that our education has suffered because our teachers have neglected their work. I have mixed with them, particularly I have seen the enthusiasm with which they have taken advantage of the opportunities given by the university during the last 5 years, and it is a matter for astonishment how these poorly paid teachers who do not in some cases even earn Rs. 30 per month, come all the way to Calcutta at their own expense and try to profit by the instructions which the university had imparted for their benefit and for the benefit of their schools.

Sir, much has been said about dual control. I know what dual control is and how dual control has injured the cause of education. But here again I cannot but refer to the attempts made by the university to obtain better co-ordination between the work of the university and the Education Department of the Government. I believe, Sir, it was in 1934 six or seven years ago—that Mr Bottomley, Director of Public Instruction, and myself, sat together for weeks and months and tried to formulate a comprehensive set of rules which might be accepted both by the department and the university and applied to all educational institutions aided or unaided. We agreed to change the spirit of the rules; we agreed to give greater freedom to educational institutions; we agreed to establish better relationship between the university and the department The syndicate accepted the rules and the rules were forwarded to Government six years ago but, Sir, it will surprise the House to know that during the last six years no final orders have yet been issued from the Government of Bengal with regard to these rules (Cries of "Shame! shame!" from the Congress Benches), and you talk of educational reform? I hear one of my friends on the other side asking me to wait for the reply Sir, the reply will never come and if the reply comes at all, the reply will only be that the rules could not be sanctioned for State reasons Under the circumstances it is useless to blame the university. The university has done what it could possibly do within its limited sphere for the purpose of advancement of secondary education Sir, real improvement is impossible unless you are prepared to spend lakhs and lakhs of rupees for the improvement of educational institutions where education is now being imparted.

Sir, much has been said that the university at various stages opposed the formation of a Secondary Education Board. Sir, I can claim to have some knowledge of the detailed provisions of the measures which had been brought forward from time to time since 1923 and also the circumstances of their origin and the manner in which they were resisted by the university. Let me say this without fear of any

contradiction that the university has all along felt the need for a properly constituted and fully equipped Board of Secondary Education enjoying both power and responsibility and the fact that previous Bills had been opposed was mainly due to the consideration that these schemes were designed not in furtherance of education but, I say and say deliberately, to arrest the progress of education. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Congress Benches.) Even to-day, Sir, let me say without the least hesitation that I for one would be willing to extend my wholehearted support and assistance to any *bonâ fide* proposal for the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in this province, provided it is consistent with the fullest demands of education and is not designed as a political or repressive measure. It will not be possible for me to dwell at length on the provisions of the various Bills that were formulated from time to time, but I know it, Sir, as a matter of fact that one of the Bills affecting the University of Calcutta travelled all the way from Bengal to London and there that Bill was placed before no less a person than Sir Michael Sadler. In the Bill, Sir, let us not forget, that the authors attempted—and such an attempt is now being made by the present authors—the Bill attempted to reform education in the province in the name of the Sadler Commisson's Report. But, Sir, the object was nothing more and nothing less than to provide for full governmental control over education. The memorandum submitted by Sir Michael Sadler on that Bill went to the then Secretary of State and also came to the then Viceroy of India and ultimately resulted in the abandonment of that Bill. In that memorandum there were scathing criticisms of the provisions of the Bill which Sir Michael Sadler declared as utterly unacceptable, disclosing an inordinate anxiety for obtaining State control such as even the Czarist Russia would have hesitated to provide in the worst days of Imperial autocracy. And you talk of your anxiety to provide for educational reform! My charge against the present Government of Bengal is that the Bill which they have dared bring forward before the Legislature under the cloak of educational reform is not based on the report of the Sadler Commission, is totally inconsistent with its fundamental recommendations and must be rejected without hesitation by all lovers of true progress as something mischievous, as something poisonous.

Where does the Bill differ from the recommendations of the Sadler Commission? The fundamental defect of the Bill is that it tightens the grip of official control over secondary education and places it entirely at the mercy of the Government. However much the Hon'ble Chief Minister may attempt to delude the public of Bengal, thanks to the clever manipulation of facts indulged in by his adviser or advisers, who by the way have justified their special pays, special allowances and special duty allowances by sacrificing whatever educational idealism there might have remained in him or them to the

exigencies of party politics and communalism, however much the Hon'ble Chief Minister may attempt to mislead the people, the facts must stand as facts and truth must stand out as truth. "Rightly or wrongly," said the Commission, "the proposal to transfer the responsibility from the university to the Department of Public Instruction has become associated in the public mind with designs unfavourable to the wider diffusion of educational opportunity. Our evidence shows that this suspicion is strong in some parts of India, but it is nowhere more deep-rooted than in Bengal. In Bengal such a transference would jeopardise the good understanding between the Government and the educated classes upon which the prospects of effective reform mainly depend." Let me ask, Sir, were these observations borne in mind when the Executive Council of the Board of Secondary Education was constituted mainly of officers of the Department of Public Instruction? No reply The Sadler Commission made it abundantly clear that "the Board must be autonomous in so far as its administration was concerned, and it must be free from official influence and interference." All these are not my words, Sir; I am taking them verbatim from the report of the Sadler Commission. The ultimate responsibility of the State was recognised, and a remedy suggested for the discharge of this responsibility. In one sentence the relationship was summed up. "The Board should be in such a relation to the Government and the Legislative Council as will secure to it the necessary grant from public funds and will lay open its work to general review along with that of other parts," mark the words "general review along with that of other parts of the educational administration of the State." There were two directions only, in which Government influence was contemplated to be exercised. Apart from the fact that some representatives were to be appointed by Government not to pamper political or communal interests, but on the ground of their special knowledge of education and experience, the majority of the Board would be non-officials and in no way under direct Governmental control. Let me pause here for a moment and ask if this fundamental requirement has been fulfilled in the constitution of this Board. It is no use ignoring facts. Who will deny to-day that a Board of 50 members, of which at least 19 will be Muslims, who will be keeping full pace with the policy of the present ministry and 7 nominated Hindus (by the way, are Hindus so backward that they must come through the door of nomination?) who will act as nominated members of other local bodies have often been made to act under the orders of the ministry and a few other *ex-officio* members, who will dare assert that the Board will not have a comfortable majority of those who will be bound to remain under the control of the ministry and fail to exercise independent judgment? (A VOICE: "Sometimes.") One of my friends says pertinently "sometimes." Not always! I know, Sir, conscience is biting hard. But even a Board

so constituted will not have the responsibility of unfettered administration. This is where another charm comes in. The real work of the Board is to be entrusted to an Executive Council which was not contemplated by the Sadler Commission, and its composition is worthy of close scrutiny. It will consist of 14 members of whom 6 are directly under Government control and in fact steeped in the mysteries of Secretariat administration. Of the remaining 8, 6 are to be nominated by that Board of 50 constituted in a manner which will make it subservient to the Government. It is this Executive Council which will really function as the most powerful body on whose decisions the fates of thousands of schools and lakhs of children will depend One of the fundamental features of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission was that the Board should not include inspecting officers barring the headman, namely, the Director of Public Instruction. One of the reasons for this obviously is that these very officers are to submit reports which have to be impartially judged and scrutinized by the Board itself. According to the new dispensation it is these inspecting officers remnants of the office of the Director of Public Instruction — who will have the predominant voice in the administration of secondary education of this province, and yet we are told that the present Government of Bengal are shedding tears of crocodiles and tigers for the Sadler Commission and are greatly desirous of posing as great champions of education in this province

Let me ask you, what will be the relationship between the Board and the Government? The Commission made it abundantly clear that the Board should enjoy freedom this again is the language of the Commission to act upon its own responsibility in framing and enforcing the regulations for diverse purposes But its ultimate responsibility to the Government of the country was recognised in a clear and emphatic manner The Commission said that with regard to financial matters, the Board would submit its estimates to Government and the latter would have the opportunity of withholding its assent from any proposals which did not meet with the approval of Government language of the Commission again Let me pause here, Sir, and ask what is the nature and extent of control which has been envisaged by Government under this Bill Not only the Budget is to be passed by Government, but not even a single penny can be spent by the Board even though it may have monies of its own without previous Governmental sanction Even the inclusion of an item of expenditure in the Budget will not be deemed to be sanctioned by Government in some circumstances. The Board will virtually be a part and parcel of the Secretariat What about the regulations of the Board? The regulations were left to be determined by the Board itself—mark the words of the Commission. "The regulations of the Board will be published and would therefore come within the cognisance of the Government and of the Legislative Council and be open to

criticism from either body"—mark the words, Where is the provision that every regulation has to be submitted to the Government for previous approval as is mentioned in the draft Bill before the Assembly? Such criticisms, the Commission proceeded to say, would naturally carry great weight with the Board, but it was left there Let me pause here and ask what are the provisions in the Bill? The regulations will be subjected in each case to the previous approval of the Provincial Government, and all matters falling within the purview of the Board are to be conducted under the direction of the Government. Conditions of grants-in-aid, conditions of recognition of schools, appointment of staff, fixation of fees, examination results, admission of students, supervision and the administration of schools, these are some of the vital matters which will fall within the scope of the regulations, and they are not only to be determined by the Board which will itself be subservient to the Government, but such determination will again be subject to the previous approval of the Government And yet, Sir, Brutus is an honourable man, (Laughter) and yet, Sir the Hon'ble the Chief Minister expects us to believe that he is piously intending to follow the report of the Sadler Commission I have said just now that there are only two directions in which Government was given power to interfere with the work of the Board One, as I have said, is, with regard to the passing of financial estimates and the other relates to a more vital matter But let the House note the language in which this vital power was given to Government The Commission said: "The likelihood of the Board coming in conflict with Government upon grave questions of public importance was remote." Remember, Sir, that there was no truth, no suggestion whatsoever that Government was going to interfere with regard to the internal administration of the Board or to dictate to it the principles on which the great task of educational reconstruction would be undertaken It has been said, Sir, that the regulations of the Calcutta University are subject to the approval of Government But if any freedom has been denied to the university to frame its own regulations unhampered by Governmental dictation, is that now to be quoted as a precedent that deserves to be perpetuated and the future Board of Secondary Education, the reformed Board of Secondary Education, is to be tied on that ground to the chariot wheels of Government and its independence destroyed to the detriment of the country's welfare? The Commission said: "If the Board came into conflict with Government upon grave questions of public importance, the Government should have the power of overruling the Board," and it proceeds to state that "such action would follow a procedure which would at once mark the gravity of the situation and bring the question at issue before the public and its representatives." The words of the Commission run as follows: "We recommend that the Government should have the power after due enquiry to require as an extreme measure the resignation of the Board, but if this step is

ever taken it should be necessary for the Government immediately to lay before the Legislative Council for its consideration and discussion the papers showing fully the matters in which Government and the Board were in disagreement and the reasons which have led the Government to require the Board's resignation."

In the Bill the Board has been constituted on lines which make it a tool in the hands of the Government and is wholly against the letter and spirit of the report of the Sadler Commission. Bodies and institutions, like teachers, managers and graduates, have been practically ignored or altogether suppressed. The Executive Council is to be composed in a manner which places the official point of view in the forefront and provides the Board with a dangerous instrument for the suppression of non-official educational institutions. The Board cannot interfere with the decisions of the Executive Council unless three-fifths of the members of the entire Board agree to such a step being taken. The regulations dealing with fundamental questions are to be passed by the Board after obtaining the previous sanction of the Provincial Government. Rules are to be made by the Government directly without any consultation with the Board at all. Over and above this, Government retains to itself the right to inspect the officers of the Board and of any secondary school in the province, to suspend the proceedings of the Board, of the Executive Council, and of any committee under it; and, lastly, Government retains the power to remove the members of the Board and to reconstitute it without even providing for any statutory safeguard before such drastic action is taken. Sir, it is a travesty of truth to say that the present Bill follows the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. The one object of the Bill is to officialize education and that has been done with full vengeance in utter disregard of the educational traditions of this province and forgetful of the warnings of the Sadler Commission itself.

Sir, let me now continue to describe how the Bill is at variance with the other important recommendations of the Sadler Commission. One aspect is the question of finance. True the Commission stated that the existing system cannot be patched up. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister was tutored to quote this particular passage while criticising some of my remarks about finance made outside this Assembly, but there was no reference to the few remarks that followed this passage in the report. True, Sir, that the present system cannot be patched up, but then the Commission proceeded to say: "What is needed is far-reaching reorganisation and such a reorganisation is impossible except on two conditions. It must have behind it a strong movement of public opinion and it must be accompanied by greatly increased expenditure from public funds." For secondary education alone it pointed out that an annual extra expenditure of 1 crore and 50 lakhs of rupees would be necessary to make, what the Commission describe, our schools "thoroughly efficient". Of course, the Commission recognised

that such a huge sum would not be available immediately; but two years ago the present Government have received a report from a Special Officer indicating the amount of financial assistance required for reform of secondary education, and it will be of interest to members of the House to know that the extra amount suggested in that report, framed only two years ago, was at least 43 lakhs of rupees extra which was spread out for a period of 7 or 8 years. The Chief Minister in criticising an extract from one of my speeches expressed his profound surprise that I had ascribed the present defects of education mainly to want of financial assistance. But it still remains to be seen what educational reconstruction is possible by mere transfer of power from one body to another or by dividing it among three or four bodies or by concentrating powers in the Government alone. I say, Sir, with a full sense of responsibility that the contributions made by the Government —I am not referring to the present Government here in particular but to the Government of this country in general—the contributions made by the Government—towards education had been niggardly They compare ridiculously with what other countries have done. Year before last, the Board of Education in England spent as grants-in-aid 65 crores of rupees for the improvement of education in Great Britain. (A voice from the Coalition Benches "What about their Budget?") Never mind, but what about the proportion of expenditure spent on education as compared with other departments? And here who will deny that education and other nation-building departments get much less than what is absorbed by, say, such departments as exist for the maintenance of law and order, defence and general administration.

Now, Sir, there is another vital matter in respect of which the Bill departs fundamentally from the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, and that is the relationship between the new Board and the university. The Bill provides that the Matriculation Examination will remain under the control of the Calcutta University. Now, Sir, the Sadler Commission desired to provide for united control in the sphere of secondary education, and one of their chief recommendations was that the examination must be left in the hands of the Board. If it is said now that there were adequate reasons why the Matriculation Examination should be left in the hands of the university, obviously it is necessary that the relationship between the university and the Board should be determined on academic grounds, on a basis different from that followed by the Sadler Commission. The Sadler Commission looked at the matter from one point of view, and if it is now agreed to depart from that point of view it is essential that the relationship between the Board and the university should be different from what is mentioned in the Bill. Sir, it passed my comprehension that a university will be called upon to hold an examination with whose syllabus and courses of study it will have little concern. I do not ignore that on the Matriculation Syllabus Committee the Universities of Calcutta and

Dacca have been given representation. But it should not be ignored that the final responsibility for determining the conditions to be fulfilled by schools and candidates in respect of the examination will rest with the Board. The Board will act in accordance with the regulations framed with the previous concurrence of the Government of Bengal. It is against all canons of sound educational efficiency and administration to empower one body to frame the curriculum and ask another body to hold the examination. (Interjections from the Coalition Benches.) I am glad, Sir, that my friends have started agreeing with me on some points.

In England, Sir, the relation of the universities to the secondary schools has been briefly noted in one of the authoritative books, "Universities in Great Britain" by Professor Ernest Barker of Cambridge. I shall just read out a few sentences from it. We hear much about powers being given to the university; the university should not be allowed to interfere with the Matriculation and so on. Now, this is what is stated in the book—"The universities in various ways affect to a great degree the character and curriculum of all secondary education. They furnish the teachers, and both by their Matriculation Examination and by the examinations they conduct for the scholarships which they award, they influence the courses. Nor is this all. The universities are examining bodies for all these schools. They conduct the examinations for certificates; they prescribe the curriculum on which these certificates are awarded. These certificates are in the nature of passports into a career for those—and they are the great majority—who do not proceed to the university. In controlling this system of passports, the university plays a considerable part in the general scheme of national education." Now, Sir, I ask the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to mention one country in any part of the civilised world where the examination is conducted by a university and the curriculum and the courses of study are prescribed by a body other than the university.

Sir, the Bill discloses an actively hostile attitude on the part of the framers of the Bill towards the Calcutta University. After all, Sir, secondary education must be closely linked with the university stage and if the educational interests are not to suffer, there must be a broader recognition of the responsibility of the university to shape and guide the cause of education in the best interests of the nation.

Sir, much abuse has been heaped on the university on the ground that it derives a large income from examination fees and from the sale of university publications. Sir, it is astounding to find that the law is going to prohibit not only that the university should not prescribe text-books—because that is a power which will be transferred to another body—but that the university will not even publish books

which may be used in any secondary schools. I believe, Sir, this is an entirely novel doctrine, a new type of educational idealism which has been propounded by the present Government of Bengal.

Sir, the Bill departs in another respect from one important recommendation of the Commission—Government schools will remain under the control of the Government. Now, Sir, if we read the report of the Sadler Commission, we will find that one of the essential conditions mentioned in the report was that the Department of Public Instruction should have nothing to do with the control of Government schools. But there is no mention of deprovincialisation. Resolutions have been passed by this House, suggestions have been made before the Government, but there is no mention that Government schools are going to be deprovincialised. Nor is it suggested that such schools will be administered by the Board. That is the regard which is paid to the Sadler Commission's report.

I come now, Sir, to the communal character of the Board. (Noise from the Coalition Benches.) I am glad I have now been able to satisfy my friends because I knew they were becoming impatient.

Sir, the Hon'ble Chief Minister has observed that the university did not oppose communal representation before 1937. That is true. I admit, Sir, that is so. That the university had been anxious to see the Board containing a certain number of representatives from different communities was sufficient evidence of its desire to see that the Board maintained a representative character without losing its academic predominance. But the university was compelled to alter its viewpoint when it discovered that academic considerations gradually tended to recede to the background and there was a clamorous demand for the progressive realization of Communal Raj in Education not on the Board alone but on all bodies connected therewith and indeed in the educational administration of the province. If the Sadler Commission reserved three seats for securing what it regarded as effective Muslim representation, Government gave 14 per cent. to Muslims in the 1926 Bill, 16 per cent. in the 1928 Bill, 17 per cent. in the first Bill sent to the university in 1937 before the advent of the present popular Government and 41 per cent. in the second Bill of 1937. It was at this stage that the Senate rejected the principle of communal representation as it clearly tended to outweigh all considerations of academic reform and efficiency. Now, Sir, that report of the committee was signed among others by Sir P. C. Ray, Mr. Wordsworth—to-day, three years later, of Castor Oil fame (Loud laughter)—and two Muslim educationists, one of whom is himself a Government servant. That was the unanimous report submitted by the University Committee.

Sir, the Bill has introduced the communal principles in a most pernicious manner touching elaborately even the constitution of bodies

which will select publications and text-books and frame the syllabus and the curriculum.

Sir, there are two other details which I shall briefly touch upon—one is the proposal for the establishment of district committees. Sir, in the 1937 Bill this district committee was mentioned in greater detail in that document and it was mentioned that the chairman of the district committee was to be nominated by Government. Sir, we have seen the manner in which powers have been exercised by District Magistrates with regard to the administration of secondary schools about which I shall say something presently. And I do consider that if district committees are going to be constituted on that basis, the officialisation of the schools will be completely achieved.

Sir, the other matter relates to the clause providing for the automatic withdrawal of recognition of schools after two years. That is a drastic provision and may be utilised in a manner—I say "may", and none can say "must be" utilised—which will seriously injure a large number of schools. Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister referring to my criticism on this clause was coached up the other day to observe that the university in one of its own Bills—I ask you to note "own Bill"—made a similar provision and Government have simply followed the university. What an anxiety to abide by the wishes of the University of Calcutta! But, Sir, I say it is wholly inaccurate to suggest that that was a Bill of the university's own In 1928 a Government Bill was sent to the university and in the definition clause—not a penal clause as included in the present Bill—a similar suggestion was embodied, and it is true that at that time, 12 years ago, the university had not perhaps the ground nor the occasion to question the possible danger of such a clause. The Sheffield scheme of cutting the number of schools into one-third of its present number by a quick and sharp Governmental razor was yet to come. That 400 or 500 schools will satisfy the cause of secondary education in this province was propounded by the Special Officer of the Government of Bengal. (Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN. It is untrue; it was never accepted.) Mr. Rahman in the largeness of his vision makes no distinction between truth and untruth. But I never said that it was accepted. I say that the Sheffield scheme did come and it made us nervous about similar provisions connected with the Secondary Education Bill. But, Sir, my charge against the Chief Minister is that he has suppressed facts and that he has attempted to mislead the House as regards the University's views on this provision. (Question!) Question as much as you like, but you will be only questioning the truth. He said nothing of the fact that he was referring to 1928. I am not blaming him; he was tutored He is not expected to hunt all the records of the university and Government to find out where the truth lay. I shall ask him to consider the facts himself before they are presented to the Legislature

and to the public of Bengal. It was very cleverly suppressed that this very question was examined again in 1937, when another Bill went to the university containing a similar provision. And these were the words which the University Committee used in its special report. "Such a provision naturally raises doubts in the minds of the people as to the motives which have inspired the formulation of this measure." Could anything be more condemnatory of the clause which was included in the Bill? This report which characterised the Bill as a reactionary measure was signed by Sir P. C. Ray, Mr. Wordsworth, Dr. B. C. Roy, Mr. Justice Biswas, Dr. Q Khoda and Professor Siddiqi, and this was accepted without a single dissentient voice at the meeting of the Senate. And who were present at the meeting? The Director of Public Instruction himself and the Special Officer, who had not a word to say in support of the provisions of the Bill or in opposition to the university's observations.

I think I have said enough to satisfy any unprejudiced critic that looked upon as a purely educational measure this Bill will not be acceptable to the people of this province.

I shall now point out why we are so much opposed to the tranfer of control to the present Government. I have demonstrated that the amount of control transferred to the Government is far more excessive and radical than was contemplated in the Report of the Sadler Commission A claim for such increased control is based on the theory that we have now a popular Government. I am entirely opposed to this measure in the best interest of the country for the sake of Hindus, Muslims and all. Education should not be officialised in this country nor should the educational institutions be built up on a basis of rigid regimentation of rules and regulations emanating from Government sources. Let me say, Sir, without hesitation that even the control exercised by the university has in some respects standardised our work in schools in a manner which is not consistent with the best interests of education But my objection to officialisation is not confined merely to any abstract principles that Government should not have a dominating voice in the matter of education, but it has a direct and definite bearing on the manner in which the administration of the province has been carried on by the present Government of Bengal. The present constitution does not give us a Government that represents the will of the people as such. So long as communal representation remains, Government is influenced by communal and not national considerations. In this province we have tasted the bitter fruits of officialisation during the last three years; officialisation has meant in Bengal a type of party politics and communalism which is vitally against the educational progress of the province as a whole. So long as the policy of the Government is not changed, I am not prepared to support any measure of so-called educational reforms which makes the voice of the present

Government paramount and vital in the sphere of education. Examine the history of the activities of the present Government in the sphere of education and you will find that not only has it not made any contribution towards the educational uplift of the people as a whole, but has acted in a manner which has specially prejudiced the claims of the Hindus of this proivnce. You may ask me why is it that I am apprehensive of the disastrous effects of officialisation? How can I forget that in this province to-day out of 1,500 high schools, barring a few, all owe their existence to Hindu support and influence, although in most of these institutions education was open to members of all communities? In high schools out of 3,50,000 pupils nearly 75 per cent. come from the Hindu community; about Rs. 1,15,00,000 are being annually spent on high schools and out of this amount only Rs. 15 lakhs are paid by Government and out of Rs. 1 crore about Rs. 80 lakhs are paid by the Hindus and the rest by the other communities. Now, Sir, even if you take the Government institutions you will see that only 30 per cent. of the pupils reading in Government institutions come from the Muslim community. If you take middle English Schools you will find that nearly 68 per cent. of the pupils are Hindus. (A voice: "That is not correct.") That is the Government statement. If that is not correct, I am not to be blamed. If you take the contributions made by the Hindus and Muslims for the maintenance of middle English Schools you will find that nearly 60 per cent. of the fees are paid by the Hindus, 20 per cent. by the Muslims, 10 per cent. by Government and 10 per cent. by local bodies. We have heard these days a lot about the claims of the Muslims as a majority community, but I wish it to be remembered when plans of reforms of secondary education are initiated that the bulk of the people to be immediately affected are Hindus and that the bulk of the contribution to be made will come from the Hindus. I am referring to the recurring fees paid by the Hindus, but if we take into account the capital expenditure on school buildings and other equipments you will find that more than a crore of rupees has been contributed by the Hindus for this purpose. The same thing is happening in the university. If we take the prizes and scholarships awarded on the result of the Matriculation Examination we find that Rs. 1,75,000 have been endowed to the university which maintains 86 scholarships, medals and prizes and out of this sum Rs. 1,300 has come from the Muslims. All these 86 scholarships barring only 4 are open to all the communities which shows the liberal outlook of the Hindu donors who were inspired by only one ideal and one alone, the encouragement of education irrespective of caste, creed or community.

Why am I so nervous and apprehensive of the official control being exercised by the present Government of Bengal in the field of education? Because in the field of education communal considerations and

party politics have marked the administration in a manner which perhaps has no parallel in any other part of India during the last three years. In many cases in the matter of appointment of teachers, in the matter of approval of the managing committees, in the matter of the appointment of inspecting staff, in the matter of recommendation for recognition, extra-academic considerations and hostilities to Hindus have weighed with the present Government and with some of its officers in a manner highly inimical to the progress of education in the province as a whole. Sir, I charge the present Government with having polluted the administration by pursuing a sordid policy based on party politics and communalism. I hope you will permit me to refer to instances where the Education Department has proceeded on lines hardly consistent with the academic welfare of the schools. In one school in Mymensingh (I took the facts at random), the authorities were informed that unless a Muslim Head Master was appointed the grant-in-aid would be withdrawn and subsequently the university was intimated by the school that the grant was actually withdrawn on account of the failure of the school authorities to carry out the instruction of the Inspector. In another school a similar demand was made in respect of a teacher and the matter had been officially referred by the university to the Director of Public Instruction for report. In another school in Barisal the Head Master was served with a notice of dismissal so as to carry out the instructions of the Inspector for the appointment of a Muslim. I can understand the anxiety for appointing a qualified Muslim whenever a vacancy occurs but during the last three years there had been a systematic tendency to get rid of existing Hindu incumbents for the purpose of replacing them by Muslims. (Cries of "Shame! shame" from the Opposition Benches.) In Barisal this Head Master had to leave the place at the risk of his life as he was threatened with personal violence, making over the charge of his school to the Subdivisional Officer, who was the president of the school committee. In one school the students began to clamour for "Muslim" demands and it was strange to find that the students were permitted to send in their application directly to the District Magistrate and not through the Head Master or any other authority, and the District Magistrate ordered the Muslim Subdivisional Officer to visit the school, and he in the presence of the students took the school authorities to task for neglecting Muslim interests. Even the Inspector did not know that such a charge was brought against the school and the school authorities had no information whatsoever on the subject.

Under the Government Education Code managing committees of aided schools are subject to the approval of the District Magistrate. Now, Sir, the manner in which this power has been transferred to the District Magistrate makes us suggest that the time has come when the Education Department may easily be abolished and if that performance

is possible, my friends Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Nazimuddin may combine into one holy unity, the Education Department being placed under the Department of Police and the Criminal Investigation Department. A member of a committee at Narayanganj was disliked by the District Magistrate and the District Magistrate straight on cancelled the election not on communal grounds but on political grounds without reference to the Director of Public Instruction, without reference to the university and without reference to anybody! Now, Sir, the university intervened in that case and what happened? That member was allowed to continue. Really there was no just reason for removing that member of the managing committee. We find that the officers have interfered with the election of all the members and the entire election set aside because there was no Muslim. The university suggested that one Muslim could easily be co-opted if necessary. If a particular teacher is not liked, why should the District Magistrate exercise this function without any reference to the Inspector, without reference to the Director of Public Instruction or without any reference to the University? Climax came the other day when a demand was made by the District Magistrate to remove an elected member in Midnapore, although the school was not receiving any aid whatsoever from the Government. This is the manner of educational reform to which Government stands committed and more control is going to be transferred to that Government! I am sure that my Muslim friends will admit that although now the power is being applied mainly against the Hindus, but the time will come when the table will be turned, and many Muslims——(A voice: "You want to take that power to yourself") I am not suggesting that the power will come into my hands. But even the present Government will exercise the power against Muslims who may not say "ditto" to its [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] instances where even Muslim members had to be removed where their politics was not liked by the District Officer concerned. These are dangerous symptoms which make us extremely nervous about the transfer of control to the hands of Government in the sphere of education.

Mr. SPEAKER. As the prayer time will be coming shortly, may I know, Dr. Mookerjee, how long you will take to finish your speech?

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: I shall require 15 minutes more, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then it is better that I adjourn the House now.

(The House was then adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, I was referring to the interference of the District Magistrates with the managing committees of secondary schools. Sir, when I said District Magistrates I included within that category also officers representing the Military Intelligence Department. Sir, we hear now that the educational system of the province is uncontrolled but let me ask the House, Sir, that if 600 of the high schools in the province are to-day under a system of surveillance by the police, the Military Intelligence Department and the District Officers, what more control does the present Government of Bengal want over the affairs of secondary institutions? Sir, in matters of grant, favouritism has been openly shown. Older institutions which deserved assistance have been kept out of the list or in the alternative conditions are attached to grants which it was impossible for them to accept consistent with educational needs and traditions. Sir, in one case in Barisal there were two schools—one started by Hindus and the other by Muslims. Sir, there was a suggestion that the two schools should be amalgamated. The Chief Minister himself was interested in one of the schools and the university ultimately decided to grant recognition to the Muslim school as well, although it had not carried out the requirements which were fixed by the university. In the letter which the Chief Minister wrote, the original of which is before me, and in the letter which the Director of Public Instruction wrote to the university, it was agreed that both the schools, the Hindu and the Muslim schools, would be placed on an equal footing specially in respect of support from the State. In February the order of the university was passed and within one month a sum of Rs. 700 was paid by Government to the Muslim school. Then the authorities of the Hindu school came to the university and enquired what was the reason for this differentiation. A letter was then sent to the Director of Public Instruction protesting against the breach of faith, and the reply was characteristic—we were told that the grant was made from the discretionary grant of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister. Well, where does this money come from? The money comes from public funds (A voice: "Or from the discretion of the Chief Minister.") or from amounts discreetly or indiscreetly placed at the disposal of the Chief Minister? The Director suggested that if the Hindu school also similarly applied to the Chief Minister, through the Director of Public Instruction, a grant would be made to that school as well. Sir, that was two years ago—in August, 1938—and the grant has yet to be made in August, 1940. In the meantime, a recurring grant has been sanctioned for both the institutions, but that additional sum of Rs. 700 which was paid to the Muslim school in violation of the undertaking given by the Chief Minister and the Director of Public Instruction gives us.

only an illustration of the deliberate differentiation made between one school and another on communal grounds.

Now, Sir, let me mention here a more glaring case which was brought to my notice some time ago. A girls' school open to all communities in Rajshahi with about 200 pupils was sanctioned a grant—a magnificent sum of Rs. 4 per month while on the contrary a recently started junior madrassah confined only to Muslim girls with about 150 girls on the rolls was sanctioned a sum of Rs. 150 per month. I am not grudging the amounts which are spent for the advancement of Muslim education or for the education of any community that may be backward, but my charge is that deliberate distinctions are being made on communal considerations by the present Government, and I am not prepared to transfer the control of education of the three lakhs of Hindu children in the high schools and nearly 2 lakhs in the middle schools to the care of the present ministry. In one school the grant was threatened to be stopped by the Subdivisional Officer as the school did not subscribe the "Azad". A subsidy of Rs. 30,000 to the paper was not sufficient, but the services of the Subdivisional Officer must need be utilised for a wider circulation of the paper that supports ministerial policy. In another a teacher had to lose his job because he was opposed to the present ministry. It is not communal at this time. That teacher had the temerity to oppose the policy of the ministry and he was served with a notice to quit.

Now as regards text-books, the less said the better. Allegations have been openly made as regards the most unsatisfactory nature of the work of the Text-Book Committee. Opinions may honestly differ on the suitability of particular text-books, but when special committees for the selection of text-books are deliberately constituted on communal and non-academic considerations, let me ask what remains about the future improvement of the educational system? There are Muslims who, although they possess higher qualifications, have not been taken in but poorly qualified persons have been taken in who would meekly go and serve the authorities—the powers that be. Sir, mutilation of the Bengali language, distortion of historical facts and a flagrant disregard of academic standpoints are the characteristic features of the work of the Text-Book Committee. According to a Government decision, a fact which I myself did not know till only recently, "the post of Secretary to the Text-Book Committee in Bengal is reserved for a Muslim." Why, Sir? What is the need for reserving the post of Secretary of a Text-Book Committee for the whole province for a member of a particular community? Why not give it to the best man, best qualified man available? Why show communalism even in this particular sphere, which will not be for the benefit of any party whatsoever?

Sir, as regards the inspection staff, nearly 75 per cent. of the appointments have gone to Muslims during the last three years. It is a most

interesting study to see how the figures in 1937 before the advent of the present ministry have practically been reversed, not on the basis of 50 : 50, but have practically been reversed to the advantage of the Muslim community, particularly in the selection of Inspectors. Of course I do not mind if qualified Muslim Inspectors are appointed, but what I do say is that you irreparably injure the cause of education when these appointments are controlled in such a manner that you encourage an atmosphere of communalism. I have got a list here of some qualified Muslims in the Education Department—who were superseded and whose cases were not taken into account for obvious reasons—not because of communalism, but because they failed to pander to the needs of Party politics.

Now, Sir, if this be the state of administration of the Education Department in respect of secondary education, what has been our experience with regard to the administration of primary education? There, Sir, I find—I am not going into details—that although the education cess is demanded from the Hindus in almost all the districts, the manner in which the administration of primary education is going on is something that requires very serious consideration. In the constitution of District School Boards such as in districts like Noakhali or Mymensingh or Bogra, Hindus are not taken on such Boards. (A voice: "Why not?") It is not for me to say why not. In the Noakhali District Board, no Hindu has been elected. In the district of Mymensingh, no Hindu has been elected. (A voice: "Hindus have been elected.") I am glad, Sir, that in my lengthy speech at least one mistake has been found. I understand that one Hindu has been elected. (A voice: "Two Hindus have been elected.") In the election of the Barisal School Board I heard only three days ago that no Hindu had been elected. Shall I be contradicted? There is no reply. But that is not the only point. The point is not merely that no Hindu has been elected. But how have the nominations been distributed? (A voice: "What about Howrah?") I am coming to Howrah. Don't be impatient. It is nearer home. With regard to nominations to District School Boards where Hindus have not been elected, almost all the persons that have been nominated are Muslims. In Noakhali, all the nominated members have gone to the Muslim community. (Cries of "Question" from the Coalition Benches.) I am not referring to the *ex-officio* members. What is the use of your questioning truth every time? With regard to districts where the Muslims are in a majority, the plea is that as these are districts where the Muslims are in a preponderating majority, obviously the nominations should go to the Muslim community. But when you come to Howrah where no Muslim has been elected, all the nominated seats go to Muslims because that is a district where the Hindus are in a majority and the Muslims are in a minority and the protection of minority interests is one of the

privileges of the present ministry of Bengal! Sir, that is how the administration of the District School Boards has been going on under the control of the present Minister of Education. Sir, teachers have been appointed not on the ground of merit. Here again communal percentage has been raised in reference to the population in a particular district. In a particular district where 70 per cent. of the population are Muslims, 70 per cent. of the teachers in primary schools must be Muslims, irrespective of qualifications; but in West Bengal, where the Muslims are in a minority, the doctrine of fifty-fifty must come in. There you must have equal distribution. I have said enough to show that it is impossible for us as Hindus to agree to the transfer of control of education to an organisation which is subservient to the present Government unless and until by deeds and not by mere words we are satisfied that educational problems will be looked upon from the educational standpoint. (A voice: "What about the Calcutta University?") You may abolish the Calcutta University and add a fresh chapter to your record of destruction. What I have said is sufficient to demonstrate that the Bill as framed by the Government will not serve the cause of education: on the other hand, it will retard the progress of education and specially imperil the future of Hindu advancement.

Mr. Wordsworth on behalf of the European Group stated yesterday that the Board must be constituted as the Government Party wanted it, and that communalism had to be swallowed, not as the best solution of the present problem but as something inevitable, though distasteful. He compared communalism with castor oil. I wish he had compared it with arsenic. His analogy hardly does any credit to his power of reasoning. Castor oil is distasteful, but it is taken not for any mischief, not for the fun of it, but for the betterment of human constitution: again it is something that you cannot retain but eliminate within a short space of time. If communalism is swallowed or if this Bill itself is swallowed, will it lead to the solution of the present educational problems? Will it ease communal tension? Will it reduce communalism in any measure whatsoever? The European Group asks us to submit to something that is inevitable. If that policy of surrender to the inevitable, irrespective of right or wrong, had animated the British people in Great Britain to-day, then England would have laid herself prostrate at the feet of Hitler long ago. It is only in this country that the doctrine of inevitableness is preached with an air of superiority. Accept British rule and remain a subject race under British tutelage, for that is inevitable. Accept communal award, for that is inevitable. Sir, to-day the advice comes from the European Group that although the so-called Education Bill may destroy the very foundation of our cultural heritage, it must be accepted as inevitable. Sir, the suggestion comes from the European Party because it knows

that the education of European and Anglo-Indian children is protected under the statute. They know that although they may come to be associated with the Board for the purpose of Matriculation Examination, if the occasion arises they have other available means for safeguarding the educational interests of their children reading in India. Only last week, the Syndicate of the Calcutta University considered an application from all the European schools in the city asking for a permanent exemption from the operation of the regulation regarding the medium of instruction. We gave them exemption for a period. But they were apprehensive as regards their future and they asked for permanent protection and the University of Calcutta, the much-abused and much-maligned University of Calcutta, gave that protection to the European and Anglo-Indian residents without the least hesitation only 7 days ago. Let me ask Mr. Wordsworth and his friends, would they tolerate as representatives of their group such interference in their schools as is now witnessed in our educational institutions under the present administration? What would the European schools do if the Government pressed upon the managers of these schools to appoint teachers on the basis of communal percentage? Many European schools to-day admit a certain percentage of Indian students. Suppose a demand is made that a certain percentage of teachers must be taken from the Hindu community and a certain percentage from the Muslim community, although they may not be the best candidates available, what would they do? Would the managers of schools like to have their names scrutinised by District Officers or investigation officers and excluded on the ground of Party Politics? Would they permit the Inspector to come and dictate the acceptance of special text-books on the ground of communal authorship? Would they allow interference in matters of detail such as is being done by Inspectors in respect of aided institutions in Bengal to-day? It is easy for Mr Wordsworth and my friends to my right, but it is painful for me when I see their attitude. I know it is easy for them to say: "We support the principle although we know that it is bad and unsound," when they know that the children of their community will be protected from its pernicious effects. One illustration I shall give to show the manner in which communal differences have developed and created a situation in education circles to-day which requires the most urgent consideration. It is about a school in the subdivision of Chandpur in Comilla. Some time ago, the services of two teachers were dispensed with—one a Hindu and another a Muslim. There were Muslim members on the managing committee and all agreed that the services of these two teachers should be terminated and, if possible, a Muslim Science graduate taken. And that was done, although the school was an unaided school under predominantly Hindu management. Then the trouble started. The boys started the trouble under the influence of other Muslims in the locality

that a demand must be made that the Head Master and a Hindu teacher must leave the school. Do you know what is happening there to-day? Inside the school the boys are mocking the Head Master when he comes to his class room and openly demanding that they do not want to read under a Hindu Head Master and that they want a Muslim Head Master. The Sub-Inspector, not of schools, but of Police has come to the scene and he is assisting in the perpetuation of this sort of disturbance. The Muslim Subdivisional Officer has come to the scene and he is asking why the demand of the Muslim students should not be met. Three days ago the Muslim Magistrate went to the scene. Well, this is the state of affairs which is going on. I ask, Sir, my friends, is it not simply playing with fire? If to-day, Sir, this state of things spread in all the educational institutions of the province and the Hindu students, of which there are lakhs and lakhs, make the demand that they will not read under Muslim Head Masters and teachers although otherwise they may be very well qualified, if this sort of retaliation starts, then what will happen? Education will come to an end, and there will be nothing but confusion and chaos in the whole province This one illustration will give you an idea of the kind of atmosphere that pervades the province to-day.

Sir, I often ask myself what is the remedy of the present situation? It was not without any amount of pain that I decided not to serve on the Select Committee. By serving on the Select Committee, if I knew that it was really going to lead to educational expansion, it would have been one of my privileges and duties to do so But, Sir, we did not want to serve on the Select Committee, because we knew that the principles, the fundamental principles of the Bill were such that they must be altered, if it is going to be an educational measure at all, and when there was no chance of that being done, it was useless to serve on the Select Committee I shall not refer in detail to the remarks made against me personally in the Chief Minister's speech. One observation of his is not without a touch of humour. My opposition to the Bill made Mr. Fazlul Huq doubt the balanced sense of my judgment. Sobriety of judgment and adherence to any principles are qualities of which none in India will accuse Mr. Fazlul Huq and it is but natural for him to look at others through the prison of his own mind! Let me, Sir, say it without any hesitation that this Bill is fundamentally unacceptable to us, and even if it is adopted by the House as a result of Governmental majority, we are not going to accept it outside the Legislature. We shall consider it a sacred and imperative duty on our part to resist its operation in every possible manner. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister and his supporters think that the Opposition to this Bill is inspired by a handful of persons who are acting from some selfish motives. It is but natural for men who themselves are actuated by the basest motives in passing legislative and administrative measures calculated deliberately

to cripple the rightful interests of others, that they should always be anxious to impute motives for the actions of other people differing from them. But if members of the cabinet and their supporters have eyes to see, they will have noticed that the Bill has evoked a protest, the like of which has not been witnessed recently, and fortunately for the sake of the justice of the cause, in spite of political and other differences, all sections of Hindus have combined to oppose the operation of this Bill.

Let it not be forgotten that nearly 75 per cent. of the children reading in secondary schools belong to the Hindu community and it will be our endeavour to see that the vast majority of these children should have nothing to do with any educational institution that will work under the domination of this Board.

There are three courses open to the Government One is to listen to the voice of reason and abandon this measure and try to formulate a Bill in consultation with educational interests, not necessarily confined to universities, looking upon problems of education solely from the point of view of education, from the point of view of those millions of children irrespective of caste, creed, or community, on whose proper and efficient upbringing the future welfare of the province will largely depend

The second alternative will arise only if Government, which represents the Muslims, really considers that communal considerations and party politics, which means communal politics of a particular brand, must play their part in the formulation of a scheme of educational reconstruction. In that case I should say that we Hindus should be given the liberty to develop our education in a manner that we would consider best suited to our needs I make this proposal after a good deal of deliberation and as the one possible solution of the present impasse If for some years Hindus and Muslims living in Bengal can thus separately proceed with the task of their educational reconstruction in an atmosphere devoid of bitterness and conflict, it is more than likely that sooner than we expect they may both agree to evolve a national system of education consistent with the needs of the province. (Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN We shall have a Pakisthan here.) No Pakisthan here! We shall remain here in Bengal There cannot be any question of having a Pakisthan in Bengal Let the finances be distributed in accordance with the number of pupils reading at various stages and let the professional institutions be maintaiend on a non-communal basis. Such separate provisions have existed in several countries faced with minority problems. Muslims urge in season and out of season that although for 90 years they have received education during British rule mainly in institutions founded and maintained by Hindu money, that the Hindus have been responsible for destroying their culture and retarding the growth of their education. If that is

their true estimate and apprehension, it is better that they should take control of their own education for some years to come. Even if they so desired, let them have their Muslim University at Dacca. A distinguished professor, respected for his scholarly attainments and worldly wisdom, working at that university had noticed one day the word "Dacca" with a disfigured "D" and somebody who, perhaps, had already peeped into the future with the vision of a seer had replaced "D" by "M". That was nearly 15 years ago and let Mr. Fazlul Huq and his supporters earn the achievement of giving that university a name which tradition has already earned for it in practice. We however demand it as a matter of right that fullest facilities for educational expansion must be accorded to us unhampered by considerations of party politics and communalism Before I leave this topic, I shall refer to the baneful effects of Party Politics in the sphere of educational administration in Australia, which has openly favoured official control of education as the Bengal Ministry is to-day attempting to do. The words are taken from the *Education Year Book* :—

"The present system links education far too closely with political events and uncertainties. It does not protect the schools sufficiently against the possibility of ignorance or bias on the part of the Government of the day. Ministerial policy in education is practically determined by the private views on education which happen to be held by members of the cabinet, and chiefly by the member of the Government who is given the portfolio of Education, the educational system lending itself in the most dangerous way to the machinations of an unscrupulous or partisan Government." Words which the present ministry should carefully ponder over before it is too late to mend

The third alternative is for the Government to pursue this Bill and to force all classes of people to accept its provisions As I have said before, so let me repeat here again that we shall never accept this Bill and shall paralyse its operation if it is forced upon us Education has been to us a vital and sacred thing in the building up of our national life, and we cannot allow the death-knell of our culture and progress to be sounded by a band of reactionaries, who have been impelled by a short-sighted policy to formulate their scheme of educational deformation, utterly unacceptable to all progressive sections of the people. It may be that resistance to this Bill may bring us into conflict with the authorities and it might lead to situations which will involve much suffering and sacrifice. I say this not in a spirit of threat but with a deep sense of responsibility that to us the Bill raises issues of a fundamental character. They admit of no compromise and we are ready for fighting this new menace. Its acceptance specially means to us the end of education of the Hindus and a cry must go forth to every Hindu child that is reading in the educational institutions, to every Hindu guardian and to all others interested in the welfare of our people that

if any self-respect is left in them, that if they are not to reduce themselves to a state of subservience in the field of culture as they have been reduced in the economic and political spheres, they must be prepared to face this organized campaign of oppression at any cost whatsoever. Let it not be forgotten that this Bill affects Hindus more than it does anybody else and what right has any Government to force on us a measure concerning the future of our education which we regard as utterly unacceptable? This Government has forfeited our confidence and we are not prepared to place our educational destinies in their hands. Take the referendum of any Hindu constituency, if you dare do so. If in this hour of crisis when civilizations are crashing and noble cities and institutions are being ruthlessly destroyed, when millions of human lives and billions of pounds are being sacrificed, if at this crisis Bengal is to be thrown into chaos and confusion, let history record that the challenge came from a group of persons who acting in the name of communal electorates were out to crush the rightful claims of a minority, a minority that became the eye-sore of the British Government, because it was the first that had sounded the clarion call of political freedom War for Justice, war for the liberation of mankind, war for the enthronement of Right and Reason—wonderful platitudes these are, but they are reduced to the standard of inevitable castor oil when the Hindus of the province are to be crushed. But let me say this, that a minority though we are, it yet retains sufficient patriotism, courage and influence to stand boldly for the vindication of its just rights and it will consider no cause nobler and greater than the preservation of culture and education for which it would be prepared to face the most dire consequences, to sacrifice life and all before accepting as inevitable something that it detests as unclean and unworthy, something that must be thrown into the limbo of oblivion not for the sake of the minority alone, but for the highest interests of the province which through joys and sorrows we have loved and revered as a perennial object of devoted worship and loyal service (Loud and prolonged cheers from the Congress Benches and cries of "Hindu Ministers resign.") (A voice from the Coalition Benches: "A pious wish!")

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last four days this House was debating on one of the most important measures and speakers after speakers have spoken on that measure. Sir, I was listening with rapt attention to the speech just now delivered by my friend Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

Sir, before I go into a bit of details of the Bill, I believe that in this atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, as has been said by my friend Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, I should carry the House a little backwards —175 years back. My friend Dr Mookerjee——(Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Is 175 years a little back?) I hope, Mr. Rai Chaudhuri

will listen to me with a little more attention. Because I am a Muslim, there is nothing to be afraid of. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, no, I did not mean that.)

Sir, as I was saying, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee is a Brahmin and he was speaking of Hindu culture. I was just shuddering as to where we have come to. We are under British rule even to-day. My friend Dr. Mookerjee has also referred to the international situation. We have of course not heard the clash of arms, but we read in newspapers about night raids, day raids and all sorts of raids and destruction going on in Europe. Carnage is also going on in Europe, lives are being lost and all semblance of civilisation destroyed. But, Sir, my friend Dr. Mookerjee has thrown out a challenge to the Government. He knows very well that we are not always supporters of this Government. In very many measures we said what we thought best on the floor of this House. But here, Sir, I believe there has been a misconception, or possibly what we have read so long has led us to a different channel. It may be a different angle of vision.

Sir, I was speaking about the earlier history. Dr. Mookerjee knows very well that the university is predominantly a Hindu university—there is no denying this fact. He has said that this Bill, as it has been framed, is a communal Bill. Possibly I might have put the expression in a different manner. But because our Hindu friends dominate the university, possibly they might have thought that power is being taken away from them, and therefore, in their opinion, the presence of the Mussalmans in the Board might be one factor which has made it communal. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Coalition Benches.)

Sir, I was just talking about the past of this country. My friend knows how this country was governed by the Hindus. Hindus ruled over this country for very many centuries. Afterwards the Pathans came, the Mughals came, and they conquered and ruled over this country for about 750 years. I do not know what culture they followed. But all the same the Hindus and the Muslims of this country read Persian because they wanted positions under the then Government. Afterwards the Britishers came to this country. From 1757 we have been given this gorgeous light of Western civilisation. Sir, you know very well. I mean, Mr. Speaker knows very well—I am not addressing you as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University—you have taken a good deal of interest in matters of education—how really after the Britishers came to this country, when the Muslims fell from their power and influence, they were absolutely dethroned. Nobody can deny that. It is mentioned in Lord Macaulay's "Minutes on Educational Progress" in this country.

Sir, I do not claim the Persian language to be Indian culture, but all the same the Mughals brought with them the Persian language and Indians learnt it. Afterwards the Muslims thought and also the

Hindus thought that possibly this education would give them a status. So they all learnt the Persian language. Afterwards when the Britishers came to this country, they wanted in the beginning clerks to serve them, so they felt that some persons should be educated in English and therefore English should be taught. To-day, Sir, I am myself speaking on the floor of this House in a foreign tongue - in English, one of the most difficult languages. I do not know when the day will come when we the sons of Bengal will speak in our own mother-tongue in which we can speak more efficiently. At present we have all become artificial people. After the Britishers came to this country, the education through the medium of Persian language was replaced by English. The Muslims thought that their culture was touched. I am not saying whether they were right or wrong, but they stood aloof from English education. What was the result? The Hindus stepped forward and captured all the avenues of life. I do not blame them for this. Even to-day, Sir, I and my Party are working with my fellow-Hindu brethren to free our country from foreign domination. We have served imprisonment with them and we are prepared to suffer imprisonment with them in future also. But that is another point. What I am putting forward is this. When these things happened, our Hindu friends occupied positions by learning English language I am referring to that particularly because my friend Dr Syamaprasad Mookerjee was speaking of Hindu culture. Sir, I do not find anything of Hindu culture in the university education that is being given to us to-day I do not know whether Dr. Mookerjee honestly believes that the Calcutta University has given any education which can be called Hindu culture or Muslim culture. There is only one culture the culture of getting appointments After passing the university examinations what do our boys look for? They look for the posts of either Deputy Magistrates or Sub-Inspectors of Schools, or Sub-Inspectors of Police, or clerks That is the position at the present moment I do not know what the Leader of the Congress Assembly Party will say, but I assume, Sir, as I have read the resolution passed by the Congress Assembly Party and the method they have adopted they have non-co-operated with the Select Committee, they have intended not to serve on the Select Committee I presume they also share the views of Dr Syamaprasad Mookerjee as expressed by him in this House. Now I am trying to deal with my friend's observations. I do not know whether he means that this Bill is making a raid on Hindu culture. Why do you bring in the question of Hindu culture? Well, let us all combine My friend Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee said the other day that he found in it vivi-section of the nation. He called it a "cobra" Bill. I think that he rightly described it to be a "cobra" Bill; possibly the effect of it would be that all the ailments that we have got in the body politic would be cured. I am saying these things only to show that, though the defects in our educational system may be due

to foreign rule, yet we have got various other reasons. We are treading different channels. People might say that we have been taught to chalk out our path. We might blame the British Government, but all the same we have got our own reasons, we have got our own judgment. I will ask Dr. Mookerjee to really ponder over it. He has thrown a challenge on the floor of the House. I am not here to accept or reject the challenge. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister will see whether he will accept the challenge. I am just trying to induce my friends to look into the Bill, because it gives Muslim representation. I must make my position very clear at the outset; we are opposed to nomination in any shape or form. We have made our position clear at the time of election we have made our position clear on the floor of the House also. At the time of discussion in the Select Committee we will also make our position clear. I will ask my friend Dr. Mookerjee to consider whether they can come and sit in the Select Committee to find out whether the defects in the Bill can be removed, or whether they should absolutely detach themselves from it.

Various objections have been put forward. In the first place it has been said that the Bill is communal, and the educational machinery is going to be controlled by the officials. I find in it provisions for nomination and for taking in Government servants as members. I will again ask my friend Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker also to seriously ponder over it. I do not know what the Leader of the Opposition will say I will ask Dr. Mookerjee to seriously consider whether the atmosphere that has been created in this province can be made a little bit cleaner.

I find that Dr Mookerjee has altered his views since the Conference of All-Bengal Teachers held in the Albert Hall. He said, "We shall not leave any stone unturned to kill the proposed Secondary Education Bill. If the Bill is passed by the sheer force of majority in the Legislature, we shall make it impossible for the Act to operate If the Board is established, we shall fight and we shall sever all our connection with the anti-affiliation Board and shall seek affiliation with an outside university. Even if that be not possible, we shall conduct our education free from all party politics and communal consideration. In other words, we resolve to fight the Bill tooth and nail." One of my friends has said that he will create another Pakisthan. If you say that, you will try to get yourself affiliated with an outside university, will that take you forward in the educational advancement of the Bengali nation? I believe that the very idea itself will cause harm to Bengal's education and Bengali culture as a whole.

I am dreaming of the day when we Bengalis—Hindus and Muslims—will shred all the so-called cultural education that we have received from Western influence, and will sit together and select books and literatures wherein our boys will read things which will not be only

about Hindu culture or Muslim culture, but a combination of both. We will thus create a new and happier Bengal.

So far as the details of the Bill are concerned I do not want to go into them. There are various committees, viz., the Muslim Committee, Scheduled Castes Committee and other committees. If we analyze these different committees, we find that there is a bit of official control in them. What I am saying is this. I would appeal to my friend Dr. Mookerjee and to the Leader of the Congress Party to see whether for the future of the Bengali nation, for the future of real Bengali culture, not the culture we just now called Hindu culture, we cannot sit together and bring out a real good out of the present Bill and create a new and happier Bengal.

I do not want to take much time of the House because the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust has been growing deeper both outside and inside this House. I have made the position of my Party clear. Mr. Abu Hossain Sarker spoke the other day about the attitude of our Party. All the same I am appealing to my friends, because possibly we are all groping in darkness and light may dawn upon us, to come and sit together to discuss the details of the Bill and see if we can really find out how the future citizens of Bengal can be rightly taught and how the real welfare of Bengal can best be served.

We are supporting the motion for reference of this Bill to the Select Committee. We will fight in the Select Committee. We will try to shape it as a good measure, so that it might be acceptable to the public of Bengal as a whole with the aid of which we shall be able to create a new and happier Bengal

With these few words I support the motion for reference of the Bill to the Select Committee.

(Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose got up to speak.)

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: May I speak on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community?

Mr. SPEAKER: If you wanted to speak, you ought to have spoken earlier.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, may I before I begin enquire whether you are going to finish the debate to-night?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think we will finish it to-night.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I wonder if this House proposes to sit up to about 10 o'clock in that case.

Mr. Speaker, my honourable and learned friends, Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Mr. Atul Chandra Sen and Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee have led the opposition to this ill-conceived and, shall I add,

iniquitous measure passing by the name of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, from this side of the House. The duty now devolves on me to bring up the rear and with it a solid phalanx of incontrovertible facts, unanswerable logic and the collective experience and wisdom of the past in this and other countries. Those facts, that logic and the collective experience and wisdom of the past which is embodied in the pages of the Sadler Commission's Report will, I am sure, give us an indication, a clear indication, of the steps that are necessary for the progressive development, the comprehensive organization and the infinite expansion of secondary education in Bengal. They will, I hope, at the same time make it clear to us, unmistakably clear to us, prove to demonstration in fact, that this measure falls far short, miserably short, of the requirements of secondary education in Bengal, that this measure suffers not only from faults of omission but also from faults of commission, that its proposals are incomplete in certain respects and perverse and reactionary in others.

Mr. Speaker, we on this side of the House have taken on ourselves the responsibility of putting forward the demand for circulation of this Bill for eliciting public opinion Why have we made that demand? It is because, Sir, we feel that the Bill is unacceptable in all its features except one and that one feature is the constitution of a Secondary Education Board for Bengal - not the Board of Secondary Education envisaged in this Bill but the idea of a Secondary Education Board for Bengal. We realize and we hope this House also will realize even at this late stage, after four days' debate if they have not realized it already, that a total revision and recasting of the Bill is necessary in the interest of secondary education in Bengal.

Why do we ask for a total recasting and revision of this Bill? Not because we do not see the urgent need for reform of the present system of secondary education, not because we refuse to admit that it requires expansion and remodelling, not because we are at all complacent about the existing state of affairs I make bold to say, Sir, that we are not less conscious of the defects, the anomalies and the incompleteness of secondary education in Bengal than any member sitting on the benches opposite. We are as much keen, if not more keen, for real reform in secondary education and for progressive development and, as I said, comprehensive organization of secondary education for the simple but all important reason that secondary education is a most vital part of our national life, a most vital matter for the existence and progress of the nation as a whole, for the reason that on it, above everything else, depends the commercial, the industrial, the professional and the administrative efficiency of nation.

We are anxious, more than anxious, for the early establishment—to borrow a phrase from the Education Acts of England—of a national

system of public education, a national system of pub... ...ucation available for all persons capable of profiting thereby. It is because we feel convinced that the Bill as drafted will not serve the cause of secondary education in any way, that the Bill has not in it even the germs of a national system of education that we oppose the measure and we demand its circulation for eliciting public opinion. Judged as an educational measure pure and simple and purely from the standpoint of the educationist, as I have already said, it falls miserably short of the requirements of the situation. It does not, I venture to say, touch the heart of the problem; it does not even attempt to do so. Of expansion there is none, no provision, in this Bill. The Statement of Objects and Reasons and the Preamble speak of the regulation and control of secondary education—but not expansion by any means. Regulation and control—that is all that the authors of this Bill concern themselves with. Of expansion they will have none, because they feel—and the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education has said in so many words—that expansion of secondary education has led the nation to drift indefinitely upon dangerous currents, aimless and uncontrolled.

Sir, I cannot conceive of a greater certificate to the efficiency of secondary education in Bengal than that it has led us to embark on dangerous currents. If secondary education in Bengal during the last fifty years has taught us to think dangerously, to act dangerously, and to live dangerously, then I venture to proclaim that secondary education has fulfilled its purpose. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Congress Benches.) "Dangerous currents", I can well realize are words that the Ministry of Education and the Department of Education are afraid of, and that, I believe, is the reason why this draft Bill, which according to the Hon'ble Minister for Education, has been conceived not by him alone but by his predecessors for the last 20 years and more, does not contain in the body of it the word "expansion".

Sir it is necessary that I should first of all indicate to the House with as much clearness as possible that in this Bill there is no comprehension of the nature and function of secondary education. To begin with, may I draw the attention of the House to a surprising vagueness in definition? The principal function of the Board of Secondary Education, as laid down in clause 18, is supervision and control of secondary education and of secondary schools. Which are the secondary schools, I ask. In the section dealing with definitions a secondary school is defined as an institution in which secondary education is imparted. What then is secondary education is the next question that this Bill has to answer. The same section defines that secondary education means education other than primary education or post-matriculation education. May I ask now what is primary education? The Bill does not define that. But may I, with apologies to the Hon'ble Minister for Education, complete the chapter of definitions

by adding another: primary education means education other than secondary education! (Laughter).

Lest anyone should think that I am merely making a play on words, I should like to explain what practical difficulties we shall meet with by not clearly indicating the nature and the limits of secondary education, at least by not having a clear perception of these facts, before undertaking legislation on this subject. The Board is required to exercise supervision over secondary schools. In practice, Sir, having regard to the framework of the Bill, they have not the means or the tests of deciding which schools are secondary and which are not. In Great Britain or France or Germany,—if it is not treason to mention Germany to-day,—or the United States, this difficulty does not exist, for in those countries secondary education is not only demarcated as a definite stage in the educational process as education of pupils belonging to a particular age-group, to be more particular of the adolescent, but secondary schools have also a highly individual character as the result of a long historical evolution. The Public Schools and Endowed Grammar Schools of England, Lycées of France and the Gymnasia of Germany are characteristic institutions for the education of young people of the age, say, from 13 or 14 to 18 or 19. All other secondary schools which do not specifically bear these names are also modelled on the same lines and fulfil generally speaking the same educational requirements. Therefore, when there is a reference to secondary education in those countries people understand schools of a definite type and education for a definite age-group. Notwithstanding the fact that in Great Britain secondary schools comprise by usage and tradition a distinct category of schools, for administrative purposes they are not left undefined. I am drawing the attention of the House to these considerations because the Minister of Education and those who have advised him and aided him in the drafting of the Bill have rejected the collective experience and wisdom of the past and have not even thought fit to turn over the pages of the English statutes beginning with the Education Act of 1902 and ending with the Education Act of 1921.

Regulations for secondary schools in England made in 1921 by the Board of Education and laid before Parliament clearly lay down the scope and functions of secondary schools. In order to be recognized as a secondary school—I am quoting from those regulations—"within the meaning of these regulations a school must offer to each of its pupils a progressive course of general education as defined in Chapter II (with requisite organization, curriculum, teaching staff and equipment) of a kind and amount suitable for pupils of an age range at least as wide as from 12 to 17. Provision made for pupils below the age of 12 must be similarly suitable and in proper relation to the work done in the main portion of the school."

Although, Sir, there is a reference in the above definition to pupils below the age of 12, it must not be assumed that the teaching of pupils of this age group forms a normal activity of secondary schools in England. Age statistics of the secondary school pupils bear this out. In 1935, for example, the proportion of the different age groups in secondary schools controlled by the Board of Education and the local authorities there was this:—

	Percentage.
Age from 12 to 16	79·2
Age above 16	14·3
Age below 10	3·8

The distinct character of secondary schools would come out still more clearly if we consider the functions of secondary education in England. It is not concerned with the rudiments at all It does not attempt to initiate pupils into what are known as "tool subjects". Its true purpose—and that is where this present Bill is grievously wanting—is to train pupils in the application of knowledge to the problems and tasks of life. Sir, I shall make no apology for quoting a passage from the famous Bryce Commission's report on Secondary Education in England, which was submitted in 1895. Said that report—"Secondary education is the education of the boy or girl not simply as a human being who needs to be instructed in the mere rudiments of knowledge, but it is a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed."

Therefore, Sir, both logically and empirically, in theory as well as in practice, technical education comprises a very important branch of secondary education and technical schools come within its ambit. In the present Bill you will not find one reference to technical schools or technical education. But let me proceed further. The Bryce Commission was emphatic on this point of technical education. It definitely ruled that under secondary education technical education was comprehended. Perhaps, I could do no better, and I could give no better idea of what secondary education means both in its general and technical aspect, than by quoting the illuminating passage on the subject in the same Commission's report, and I would ask in all humility but in all seriousness that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister should ponder over those words.

"Secondary education," says the report, "is technical, that is to say, it teaches the boy so to apply the principles he is learning and so to learn the principles by applying them, or so to use the instruments he is being made to know as to perform or produce something, interpret a literature or a science, make a picture or a book, practise

a plastic or a manual art, convince a jury or persuade a senate, translate or annotate an author, dye wool, weave cloth, design or construct a machine, navigate a ship or command an army. Secondary education, therefore, as inclusive of technical, may be described as education conducted in view of the special life that is to be lived with the express purpose of forming a person fit to live it."

This is what secondary education means in England and in the countries of the West. We are trying to take a chapter from the West, but unfortunately when it comes to the application of well-settled principles we find that this Bill contains no recognition at all that any of the principles has been considered at the time of drafting the Bill.

Let us now compare the position in our country. Here the whole position is chaotic and nebulous. Secondary education is not demarcated at all from primary or elementary education. The so-called high schools have continuous classes from Standard III to Standard X and are thus neither purely elementary schools nor purely secondary schools but an illogical combination of both, while at the upper end of our system also the line of demarcation from university education is looked upon by most educational authorities as having been drawn at too low a standard. The Sadler Commission, for example, recommended that secondary education should comprise education at least up to the Intermediate standard, if it is to be of a satisfactory character and level.

The Hon'ble the Chief Minister, while reading out his speech—I will not say written out for him—but while reading out his speech and asking for a reference to a Select Committee, referred to the Sadler Commission's report again and again. My honourable and learned friend Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has demonstrated to the House quite clearly that none or practically none of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission have been incorporated in the report. All that the Minister of Education has taken from the Sadler Commission's report is about four or five words—"A Board of Secondary Education in Bengal." As I have said already, Sir, secondary education should comprise education at least up to the intermediate stage, if it is to be of a satisfactory character and standard.

At this stage, Sir, I would like to tell the Chief Minister who is in charge of the Education portfolio and his cabinet that if the recommendations of the Sadler Commission are embodied in a Bill dealing with secondary education in Bengal, then from this side of the House there will be no opposition to that measure. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: "Hear! hear!".) Let him take courage in both hands. Let him not follow the example of his predecessors who were most unwilling to adopt the report of the Sadler Commission and the recommendations

contained therein. Let him not follow the precedent of his predecessors, but let him initiate a bold policy for the progress and development of secondary education in Bengal. And he will find that the opposition which has been raised to this ill-conceived measure will not be raised to a measure conceived on that basis.

Now, Sir, coming to what the Sadler Commission said about secondary education comprising education at least up to the intermediate stage, I hope the House will bear with me if I quote an important passage from the Commission's report. It runs: "It will be remembered with what cogency and weight of experience a large number of our correspondents urge that a test corresponding to the Intermediate Examination should be the standard of admission to the courses of the university. They believe that many of the new educational facilities needed in Bengal should be provided at the stage which lies between the present Matriculation and the Intermediate; that this period in a boy's education might be put to better use; that within this space of two years it would be possible to give courses of training more adapted to the age of the pupils and diversified according to their intentions in life; and that a re-ordering and enlargement of the educational opportunities offered at this stage would utilise much mental power which is now running to waste; would invigorate the schools; would relieve the university from the encumbrance of immature students; would allow a more effective and timely preparation for practical careers; would improve the equipment of recruits for the subordinate grades of Government services, and would be beneficial to all public or private interests concerned

"In this view we concur, having been convinced by what we have seen in the course of our inquiry and by the evidence submitted to us that some of the work now attempted by the colleges would be better done elsewhere. An improvement in higher secondary education seems to us to be needed and to provide the key to the solution of this part of the problem of educational reform. We recommend, because it is one of the necessary conditions of the right delimitation between school and university work, that admission to the courses provided by the university in preparation for a degree should in future take place at the level of what is now called the Intermediate Examination The present Matriculation should cease to entitle a student to enter upon a university course. It comes at a stage in his education when it is premature to guarantee him fitness for that grade of work which alone it is appropriate for the university to require."

Sir, I looked in vain in the Hon'ble Chief Minister's speech for any explanation as to why the basic recommendations of the Sadler Commission were set at naught. I realize, however, that possibly a discreet silence was the best course to adopt in the circumstances. The Bill does not attempt to tackle these vital and important questions,

and that is one of the reasons why we demand that this Bill should be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. It leaves matters in the same unsatisfactory state as they are now—possibly in a more unsatisfactory state than they are at present.

In these circumstances, may I ask the Hon'ble Minister of Education what the proposed Board of Secondary Education will do? Will it exercise control over the so-called high schools for the entire range of their present classes and thus impinge on what is properly primary or elementary education, or will it only control those schools—say—only so far as teaching in the upper classes, *i.e.*, Classes VII or VIII to X, are concerned? To divide the control of a single school between two authorities would be an absurdity; but to make over the existing type of high and middle schools as a whole to the Secondary Board would be to create a fruitful source of conflict between the two different authorities who ought to, and presumably will in the near future, control secondary and primary education respectively. It would, in my submission, create an unnecessary and even pernicious overlapping of functions and authority between them. These are the considerations which demand that there should be a clear demarcation of secondary education, a demarcation which is absent from the clauses of the Bill.

The first step, therefore, towards the reform of secondary education in our country is to lay down its upper and lower limits clearly, to demarcate it from university education on the one side and from elementary education on the other. In a sense, I believe, Sir, this task of demarcation is easier here than in England, for in England the growth of secondary education is the result of a long historical process in which different types of schools with different functions and different social affiliations have grown up. The lack of uniformity which marks the educational system of Great Britain even after attempts at systematisation and co-ordination extending over several decades—possibly more than half a century,—need not be tolerated here. We can start work, relatively speaking, on a clean slate. We can build our secondary education on a planned basis, but we have no indication whatever in this Bill of a planned basis. We can avoid overlappings and inconsistencies. We can dovetail secondary education with precision with the lower and the upper stages of the educational process and the educational system. But the Bill does nothing of the kind. It does not even appear that those who have framed it have any consciousness or had any consciousness of this fundamental necessity. They have proposed to create a central authority to do something which they themselves possibly do not know and have therefore left undefined.

It may be argued by the supporters of the Bill that such a demarcation of the secondary education is not necessary because all that the Bill proposes to do is to transfer to another corporate body the powers

in respect of schools at present exercised by the University of Calcutta and just as they are. In that case, Sir, may I ask the Hon'ble the Chief Minister as to why he claims that the setting up of a Board of Secondary Education will lead to the reform of secondary education in Bengal or that it will make possible a planned efficient development and control of secondary schools and secondary education? It will, Sir, do nothing of the kind. It will only replace one kind of control, which has been described by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister—the Minister of Education—and his supporters as perfunctory and illogical, by another sort of control even more perfunctory and more illogical. Then why call the Bill the Bengal Secondary Education Bill? Why not call it rather the Calcutta University Deprivation of Powers Bill (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Congress Benches) or possibly, in slightly better language, the Calcutta University Spoliation Bill?

Sir, now I come to the second problem—another vital problem which has not been attempted to be tackled in this Bill; and that is the financial problem. That is one of the most vital problems, viz., how to provide the finances for the expansion and improvement of secondary education. It is a notorious fact that schools dependent on private support or on fees realised from pupils, so far from being able to buy additional equipment or provide better facilities for their pupils or better pay and prospects for their teachers, cannot make both ends meet even on the unsatisfactory standards at present enforced. The whole financial basis of secondary education must therefore be satisfactorily laid—I repeat, satisfactorily laid—before there can and ought to be any attempt to bring forward before the Legislature a Bill of the type of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. May I remind the Hon'ble Minister of Education that in the Education Act of 1902 in England, the expansion of secondary education there was financially assured by empowering the Council of every county and county borough —which roughly corresponds to our local municipalities and district boards—to aid higher education by constituting them as "local education authorities." That you will find, Sir, if you care to go through the provisions of just two sections of the Education Act of 1902—sections 1 and 2. This measure, which has been described and aptly described as "the veritable charter of incorporation of English Education", immensely stimulated the progress of secondary education in England by the creation of Local Education Authorities. It was followed by the Act of 1918 and then by the Act of 1921 which consolidated the enactments relating to secondary education as also to elementary education and higher education in England.

During the decades which have passed by since then, the financial basis of secondary education in England has been still further consolidated and strengthened. The secondary schools there—and I am

mentioning these facts in order that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister may take note of them, because the Bill as drafted by him or his advisers contains evidence that he has not taken note of them, that no one has drawn his attention to the provisions of the three Education Acts of England which specify the sources from which secondary education is to be financed—the secondary schools there receive financial aid from two alternative sources, of which they can choose either. These sources are—first, the Government, and secondly, the Local Authority which, as I said just now, corresponds to our local bodies. Schools receiving help from the Board of Education direct are called "Direct Grant Schools" and schools receiving help from the other source are called "Indirect Grant Schools." The House will be surprised—possibly it will be more than surprised—if I tell the House that the Board's aid to the secondary schools in England takes the form of a capitation grant of £8 13*s*. per annum for each pupil. The present grants made by the Government of Bengal or rather proposed to be made by the Government of Bengal and the other financial provisions contained in the Bill are not even a pittance in comparison with the grants which we find given to secondary education in England.

Sir, I do not wish, however, to dwell on this subject at any great length, for the Hon'ble the Chief Minister—the Minister of Education—has sought to disarm us by an apology in advance. But I am quite unable to subscribe to the opinion which he expressed or rather the opinion which he was made to express, that there is no force in the argument of those who say that the setting up of a central authority to control secondary education should have been followed by more generous financial provision. I do not see why the Minister of Education should go out of his way to dispute a proposition which is, after all, elementary commonsense. Possibly the greater wisdom and experience of the draftsman of the Bill prevailed on him more than the collective experience and wisdom of the past in England and other countries! What is the use, I ask, of creating a body for the improvement and reform of secondary education and entrusting it with that duty unless you can provide money for the necessary reform? The proposed Board, it should be remembered, is not and cannot be an end in itself, nor can it by its existence alone bring about any reform whatsoever in secondary education. That will depend on the activities of other agencies, organisations and individuals, and above all, on the resources commanded by them. Reform of secondary education depends not on the creation of a Secondary Education Board, either official or non-official, but it vitally depends on a large number of other factors of which central direction is only one and, I shall say, an insignificant one, and of all these factors the financial factor is the most important. It is the one factor which must have precedence over others in all attempts at reform of secondary education.

I would like to draw the attention of the Minister of Education in particular to an instance in point. When the first Labour Government was formed in England in December, 1923, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote to Lord Haldane, asking him if he would be disposed to take an office like that of Education, and Lord Haldane has related in his autobiography,—"The idea attracted me, but I saw certain difficulties. The principles of reform in primary and secondary education were already pretty clear, and what was needed was just the thing that was difficult, more expenditure." That was said by a person in public life in a country where the grant was £8 13*s*. for each pupil. "The idea attracted me, but I saw certain difficulties." These words bear repetition. "The principles of reform in primary and secondary education were already pretty clear, and what was needed was just the thing that was difficult, *more expenditure*." Eventually, Lord Haldane declined to accept the portfolio of Education as he was not sure that he would get the necessary funds. I wish that the Chief Minister in his saner moments had emulated that example. I wish that he had taken up that attitude as Minister for Education, not as Minister for a particular sect or a particular community, I wish as Minister for Education he had said that "unless I can guarantee adequate funds not only shall I refrain from bringing in a Bill, but I will not even accept the Education portfolio." There is no more thankless task than to undertake the responsibilities of a great nation-building department without sufficient money to carry on its work.

The next thing I would like to deal with in connection with this Bill is the problem of administrative direction. The problem is to find out the motive power for the improvement and expansion of secondary education in our midst. The problem is of course related, closely related, to the financial problem with which I have just now dealt, but it is not wholly comprised in the latter. If the necessary finance is provided for, there will still remain the task of execution and co-ordination. This is an administrative and executive duty which must be shouldered by some public authority. At the present moment the establishment and maintenance of schools in our country are left almost entirely to private enterprise, except where the Government have their own schools. The House knows that Government schools are far too few in number—only about 47 in a total of 1,400. As a matter of fact, the Provincial Government having regard to their responsibilities cannot and should not take upon themselves the burden of regional planning in secondary education or of actually establishing a network of schools. There should, I think, be decentralization in this matter on the lines of the Education Acts in England, and the absence of that is one of the main defects of this Bill. On the one hand, private enterprise, with all that it can do and all that it has done in the past for the promotion of education in Bengal, can no longer be considered to have powers commensurate with the magnitude of the

problem. For one thing, it cannot assure finances on the necessary scale; secondly, having no control over other private persons and bodies it cannot co-ordinate and systematize the educational efforts of a given region, so that there might not be any gaps or encroachments. What is needed, to-day, therefore, is some form of public responsibility for the promotion of education, which most fitly and properly should be laid on the local authorities. This is what has been done in Great Britain, as you will find from a perusal of the Education Acts of 1902 and 1921. This is what has been done in other countries of the West. In Great Britain the local bodies have been constituted as Local Education Authorities and have been vested with administrative and executive as well as financial responsibilities in respect of secondary and elementary education. As an illustration, I shall ask the House to read sections 1 and 2 of the Education Act of 1902. The duties of the local bodies in respect of elementary education are even more extensive than in the case of higher education, as the remaining sections of the Act of 1902 will show.

Then we come, Sir, to the Education Act of 1921. It is even more so, as will appear from a reference to certain sections to which I would like to draw the attention of the House—viz., sections 3, 11, 70, 71 and 74. For the purpose of elementary education the Local Authority is the Council of every county borough as respects their county borough; the Council of a borough with a population of over ten thousand according to the census of 1901 as respects their borough; the council of an urban district as respects their district. And for the purpose of higher education the council of a county as respects their county, shall be the Local Education Authority. Large powers are conferred on the local bodies there.

I would at this stage draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Minister for Education to the responsibility for the promotion of secondary education as detailed in those Acts. One section of the Act of 1921, namely, section 11, will make it clear. "With a view to the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby, it shall be the duty of the Council of every county and county borough so far as their powers extend, to contribute thereto by providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education in respect of their area." It seems to me after consideration of the clauses of this Bill that our Government does not seem to be even aware of the existence of this problem. At any rate, this Bill contains no provision dealing with it. All that the Bill proposes to do is to bring into existence a central supervising body which has no responsibility at all in respect of the promotion of secondary education or the establishment of secondary schools. All that the Committees are asked to do under this Bill is to advise, advise and advise, all the time knowing that the advice will be relegated to a particular article in a Secretariat room.

Then, Sir, when you come to the other problems, the improvement of the standard of schooling or the problem of teachers, you find that the Bill makes no provision, gives no indication even as to how and when or where or by whom those problems will be tackled. Sir, I do not reproach the framers of the Bill for having failed to embody in the Bill all the conditions necessary for improving the standard of secondary education. But the important considerations which I have already mentioned, the administrative consideration, the financial consideration, the executive consideration, are considerations far too important to have been ignored in the draft Bill before this House.

Sir, I would in this connection refer particularly to one important problem and that is the problem of training teachers. I do reproach the Government for their failure to give due consideration to one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the expansion and development of secondary education in Bengal. This problem of ensuring the supply of teachers in sufficient numbers and with the necessary standard of qualifications was too important a problem to be ignored. Men with ability and imagination could be attracted to the teaching profession only by guaranteeing to them the necessary status and remuneration. Sir, I emphatically declare that there can be no reform of secondary education until these things are done and amongst these the most important is the problem of supplying trained teachers. Proposals for improving the position of teachers in Bengal and for increased facilities for training should have been embodied by the Government in the Bill itself. The post-war educational reforms in England brought about by the Act of 1918 were followed by legislation concerning the pay and pension of teachers. I am drawing attention to this fact because it may be said by the Hon'ble Chief Minister that the Bill need not make provisions for these things. As a matter of fact, the post-war educational reforms in England have made provision for these things by enacting legislation concerning the pay and pension of teachers. In this matter as in all other vital ones, which I have mentioned already, affecting the fundamentals of secondary education, the Government as shown by the Bill which it has put forward displays serious apathy.

Sir, I will now summarise if I may the essential and indispensable conditions of the reform of secondary education in order to prove to demonstration before the members of this House that none of those essential conditions for the reform of secondary education have been fulfilled or can be fulfilled by this Bill as drafted. Sir, the essential prerequisites of any reform of secondary education, prerequisites recognized as such all over the world except possibly by the Department of Education in Bengal under the control of the Hon'ble Minister for Education, are these: The first and foremost amongst these stands the fact of public control, without which none of the other developments

would have been possible or can be possible. Sir, I am taking these fundamentals from the Report of the Board of Education in England for the year 1923-24. According to this report, the first and foremost among the conditions which contributed to the development of secondary education in Great Britain stood the new fact of public control without which none of the other developments would have been possible. Secondly, directly dependent on this, stands the problem of financial provision both for building and for maintenance. This condition is absent in our Bill. Thirdly, in Great Britain, the regulation of age and conditions of entry have rendered possible effective internal organization. Those regulations are absolutely absent in this Bill. Fourthly, there has been developed in England a reasonable system of examinations which afford a test of ordinary school work to which the whole of the appropriate forms are submitted and not merely selected pupils. There is no guarantee in this Bill that it will be developed. Fifthly, of great importance has been the development of the "sixth form" work aided by the advanced course regulations. This has been of value not only to the relatively few pupils who have taken it but generally because of the reaction it has had on the whole school staff and pupils alike. Last of all and most of all, as declared by the Board of Education, the most essential of all in their opinion has been the growth of a body of teachers better educated, more generally interested in their work—though much remains to be done in that respect—with full opportunities for learning the technique of their provision.

Sir, I have enumerated the essential and indispensable conditions of reform of secondary education as laid down by the Board of Education. Apply those tests to the present Bill and what is the result? The Bill we are considering leaves all those factors except the first severely alone and even in its handling of the first it neglects the positive aspect of control. It is concerned simply with the setting up of a Central Board to supervise and control the existing secondary schools, an overwhelming majority of which are private schools for the existence and improvement of which the Government is not responsible. In brief, it seeks to endow the Board with inquisitorial rights over somebody else's business and gives it very little power to be of real help to these institutions. Public control as referred to in the Board of Education's Report which I have referred to just now, is a different thing altogether—not the sort of control which the Hon'ble Minister of Education would have in the Bill as drafted by his advisers. It means that the public authorities, both central and local—and here the Bill does not make any provision at all for local education authorities—it means that public authorities both central and local undertake a definite administrative and financial responsibility in respect of the promotion and the maintenance of secondary education. It should be remembered that the secondary schools to which the Board of Education refers in its report are schools which are

dependent on it and on the local authorities for their existence and working. The Board of Education no doubt exercises general supervision over these, but its main task in respect of secondary education is to help the secondary schools dependent on the public authorities, both central and local. The position in England would have been somewhat analogous to the position envisaged in the present Bill if the Board of Education had only to exercise the right to supervise the activities of the private schols and neglected the more constructive part of its duties. There is a world of difference therefore, as the House will realise, between public control as exercised under the Education Acts of England and that which is proposed in the present Bill.

That leads me to make a short analysis and examination of the character of the proposals which we find in the Bill. But before I come to that may I remind the House that we demand circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion, because there is no provision in this Bill which shows that there is any comprehension of the nature and functions of secondary education? We demand circulation because we find in the Bill no recognition of the need for demarcation of secondary education in its upper and lower limits. We demand circulation because we find no consideration, not even an appreciation, in the Bill of the magnitude of the financial problem. We demand circulation because we find, because we realise that no improvement is possible in the matter of secondary education in Bengal within the framework of the present Bill. We demand circulation because we find no provisions in the Bill for raising the standard of schooling, no provision in the Bill for tackling the problem of teachers, no provision in the Bill with respect to any of the indispensable conditions which must be fulfilled before it can be expected that secondary education can be advanced or expanded in this province.

Now, Sir, in examining the character of the proposals in the Bill I shall be as brief as possible. The speakers who have preceded me both on this side of the House and on the side to my left have examined the character of these proposals in detail. They have criticised the size of the Board, and here again may I point out that the Hon'ble Minister of Education in spite of his references to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission has not accepted them there? The proposals in the Bill, as I shall point out after a short examination of their character do not merit support on the strength of any constructive feature. I have already said that the Bill touches only the fringe of secondary education. Even there I confess to a degree of surprise that the Government have been able to pack so much of unsoundness and so much possibility for mischief within the narrow compass of their proposals. Whether you take the size of the Board or whether you come to the division of responsibility and the conflict of functions or whether you come to the proposal for a communal award in the matter of education, the proposals contained in the Bill are harmful to a degree

and will, I am convinced, be a serious impediment in the way of the expansion and development of secondary education. Sir, not satisfied with the division of responsibility and the conflict of functions such as exist between the Board itself and the Executive Council, the Government have sought further to divide the spoils among half-a-dozen committees and have empowered the Board to create as many more as it thinks fit. This is, Sir, *reductio ad absurdum* of division of labour. No specific functions are assigned to these committees except to talk, talk, and talk endlessly. Sir, I am not surprised that one unsound principle should have led to another, because having accepted the mistaken principle of having a big Board of 50 members, the Government have been forced by the logic of their mistake,—and mistakes too have their inexorable logic—into the second mistake of introducing divided responsibility and conflict of functions. Now, as regards the main Board itself am I not right in characterising it as almost a respectable Legislative Assembly? Having some experience of the working of Legislative Assemblies and also of smaller committees inside the Assembly I cannot say that our executive ability does or will shine in company. Large executive bodies, I venture to say, are failures and have proved to be failure everywhere, and if I may venture on a prophecy, a Board constituted of 50 members will let loose a formidable volume of talk and sweep away all incentive to action in its torrential course. Worse still, it will banish from the discussions of the Board that personal note which is so necessary for the prompt and efficient and vigorous executive action and substitute in its place, as the Chief Whips of the different parties know quite well, all the intricacies of party alignment, the intricacies of canvassing and whips and other legislative impedimenta.

Now, Sir, coming to the subject I mentioned, dividing the spoils among half-a-dozen committees, I said that no specific functions have been assigned to these committees. Some of the committees further have been given functions which are non-existent in educational theory and practice. Sir, may I give an instance from the case of the Matriculation Syllabus Committee? Could not a Board containing, say, a dozen competent educationists as envisaged in the Sadler Commission's report settle this matter in about an hour's time on the recommendations of their permanent staff or of the Education Department? Take again the instances of Muslim and Scheduled Caste Education Committees. Have they been given any choice at all in the administration of secondary schools and secondary education? None at all. Then what is their use? Sir, it is simply a sop to different communities inhabiting this province. No specific functions have been assigned to them. What are their supposed functions? They are advisory. Is there any guarantee that any portion of their advice is going to be accepted? Of guarantee there is none. Is there any guarantee that their advice will ever be sought by the Board or by the Executive

Council? Such guarantee is non-existent in the Bill. Then, Sir, what is their use? I am free to confess and confess quite clearly and definitely the need for special treatment of these classes in respect of greater financial assistance and the encouragement of general education among them. That should be one of the most important functions of the Board itself and the multiplicity of advisory committees hardly assists in the solution of the problem of extending facilities of secondary education to the poorer and less educated classes, whether Muslims or the so-called Scheduled Castes. Then, Sir, may we probe into the reasons for this extraordinary generosity in the matter of numbers and committees? The reason, the avowed reason, is the desire to give representation to all interests and communities in the province, which as a result of an unhappy evolution are engaged in rivalry with each other for economic and political privileges. As a result of the adoption of this principle, utterly indefensible, unnecessary, vicious and unprecedented in the history of education, the communal principle is being meticulously applied to every department and every branch of the work of the proposed Board of Education. It is even applied in the selection of official representation on the Board as if the Government were not sure that unless a certain official belonged to a certain community he could not be depended upon to carry out its policy with loyalty. This, Sir, is communalism *in excelsis*.

It will be a national misfortune—and I say, Sir, in all seriousness and with a full sense of responsibility—it will be a national misfortune if our educational system is allowed to fall a victim to this hypertrophy of sectionalism.

For myself I can say once and for all that I shall not ask for the loaf of a seat here for a Brahmin even though he may be a high class Brahmin like Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, nor shall I ask for the fish of a seat there for a Kayastha even though there are many distinguished Kayasthas in the country. Rather, like the honest woman in the story of Solomon's judgment, I shall allow—and I would appeal to the House to allow—our educational system to remain intact and unified in one hand than see it vivisected before my eyes.

Sir, there is one more important consideration, and that is the constitution of the Board as envisaged in the Sadler Commission's report. There, Sir, apart from the other members recommended, 5 to 8 members are to be appointed by the Government of Bengal and chosen on the ground of their special knowledge of education and with a view to the representation of the following categories of experience, namely, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Medicine and Public Health, teaching in Intermediate Colleges and in Secondary Schools, the education of girls, the educational interests of domiciled communities. Sir, we find in this Bill that subordinates of the Director of Public Instruction, namely, the Assistant Director, Inspector and

Inspectress have been given seats on the proposed Board of Education, but there are no seats given to any one representing Agriculture, there are no seats given to any one representing Industry and Commerce, no seat given to any one representing Medicine and Public Health, no seat given to any one who represents purely educational interests in the different educational institutions in this big province.

Now, Sir, I come to the question of officialization of secondary education. Much has been said on this subject by the speakers who have preceded me, and I do not propose to deal with this subject in great detail within the short time in which I would like to finish. But if you were to analyse the constitution of the proposed Board, it can hardly be denied that the proposed Board is going to be predominantly official in character. Take the Council—leave aside the Board for the time being—and you find that out of 14 members of the Council the Director of Public Instruction controls five votes out of 15, including himself, because in addition to himself he has the Assistant Director of Public Instruction, the Deputy Director of Public Instruction, and two Inspectors of Schools.

Sir, after having examined the problems which the Minister of Education has to examine in any proposals for expansion and development of secondary education, I shall examine some of the observations made by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, and I propose to show from his own observations that in course of them he has given his whole case for reference to a Select Committee away. He has said: "The ability of the Legislature can be devoted to making minor changes and adjustments." Mark the words "minor changes and adjustments." Those who are anxious for seats on the Select Committee would do well to bear these words in mind. All that you shall be permitted to do is to make "minor changes and adjustments". Sir, the Chief Minister repeated time and again that the Sadler Commission has recommended drastic reforms. Not one of the drastic reforms, as I have already pointed out, except the creation of a Secondary Board, has been embodied in the provisions of the Bill. (At this stage there was persistent coughing from the Coalition Benches.)

Sir, may I expect a little more courtesy from the House? If anybody is suffering from a cold, he can use throat tablets outside the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I must say that there has been too much coughing going on the House.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, the last observation that the Chief Minister made on this subject gave his case completely away. He said: "We are prepared to listen to criticisms of the details and other aspects of the Bill. We are also prepared immediately to circulate the

Bill to the universities"—by which I suppose he meant the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca—"to report before November of this year." I have taken care to verify what I am repeating from the manuscript he read out. He said: "We are prepared immediately to circulate the Bill to the universities to report before November of this year. The Select Committee will not commence its deliberations until after the date fixed for the receipt of the universities' opinion." He thereby admits the necessity, the urgent necessity, for circulating the Bill for eliciting opinion from the two universities of Bengal, namely, the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. What is the reason—may I ask—for banning other bodies? What is the reason—may I ask—for preventing the managing committees of the 1,400 and odd schools in Bengal from expressing their opinion? What is the reason for preventing public men and prominent educationists from giving their opinion on this Bill? Sir, if the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca are to be given time to report until November of this year, what earthly objection can there be to the motion of my honourable friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that this Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon till the 31st December, 1940? What great difference will it make in the legislative programme of the Government that it cannot be permitted? Sir, this Government and its predecessors all taken together have taken 20 long years to draft a measure of this character—a measure which is incomplete, a measure which does not take note of the fundamentals of secondary education, a measure which contains provisions which are retrograde and perverse. I ask—if the Government and its supporters could allow 20 years to go by, what reasonable objection can they put forward for not waiting for a couple of months more in order that the public may express their opinion on this Bill?

Sir, the Chief Minister winded up by an appeal to the public. He said: "A cry comes from the children of the soil." Sir, the cry comes from them for the development of that part of the education which is known as agricultural education, provision for which there is none. "A cry comes from the children of the artisans" he said. The cry comes from them for industrial and technical education, provision for which there is none. "The cry comes from the children of the shopkeepers," he said. The cry comes from them for provision for commercial and business education for which provision there is none. Finally he said—"the cry comes from the children of the palaces." That is a cry for higher education which does not fall within the scope of this Bill.

Sir, I have tried, within the short space of time allotted to me, to summarise the main objections to this Bill. I have tried, I have endeavoured, to place before the House the considerations which should satisfy the House that the proposed Bill for secondary education far

from developing secondary education in Bengal will put back the hand of the clock. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister complained that these criticisms are ill-informed and premature. Has he given any opportunity for well-informed criticism to come up to him? He is himself standing in the way of such criticism.

Sir, I do not approach this Bill from the point of view of a member of a particular community. I approach it and I test it from one point of view. It is this. Does it place before us a scheme for a national system of public education? That is the test which has to be applied in order to answer the question whether this Bill answers and responds to the needs of the province.

Sir, before I close I would like to remind the Hon'ble Minister of Education of the serious responsibility that rests on his shoulders. I would like to remind him that in his position as the Minister of Education, he cannot—he ought not—to disregard the opinion which has been voiced by a very large section of educationists quite apart from the managing committees or the proprietors of secondary schools. He cannot, he ought not to, disregard the strong opinion which has been voiced by eminent educationists of this province that this Bill is retrograde. He cannot disregard the criticism that this Bill does not seek to embody the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. He cannot disregard the fact that the united voice of one of the main communities inhabiting this province is against this Bill. After all, he is not the Minister of Education for one particular community, he is the Minister of Education—if he conceives his duty in that spirit—for all the communities inhabiting this province. Sir, if he disregards these warnings, I shall say that it will soon be proved that the writing on the wall is against it. The united voice of a big community which has been largely responsible for the propagation and expansion of secondary education cannot lightly be disregarded. Sir, speaking with a full sense of responsibility, I shall repeat the words which I lately had occasion to express outside the House that if this Bill is passed into law without giving an opportunity to the public to express its opinion, without giving the educationists an opportunity to shape the provisions of the Bill, without listening to the opinions of the managing committees of the 1,400 secondary schools in Bengal, we shall consider it our duty both inside and outside the House to take such steps as will make the Bengal Secondary Education Bill a dead letter in this province. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from Congress Benches.) We should be untrue to ourselves as sons of Bengal if we adopted a more compromising attitude. I say, Sir, we should be untrue to ourselves and to the system of education which gave us birth if we were to adopt a more compromising attitude. We should be untrue to the heritage of the past if we adopted any other attitude. Sir, I desire to say—to repeat again—in all

seriousness that the heritage of the past demands that this Bill, as drafted by Dr. Jenkins or anybody else, should be sent back to the draftsman. The interests of the present demand that this Bill should not be further proceeded with. The hopes that we entertain of the future demand that this Bill should be thoroughly recast and revised in the light of public opinion, in the light of——

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, may I rise on a point of order? Is it parliamentary to mention the names of officers and officials of the Secretariat? Sir, I want your ruling on this point.

Mr. SPEAKER: If a member makes a statement, it is nothing more than a statement.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, I said the cultural heritage of the past demands that this Bill should be withdrawn. The interests of the present demand that this Bill should go back to the place from which it came. The hopes for the educational future and progress of Bengal demand that this Bill should be thrown into the scrap heap. I hope, Sir, that even at this late stage, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and Minister of Education will take the warning. I hope, Sir, that even at this late stage, he will retrace his steps and bring before the House a Bill embodying the recommendations—or at any rate the main recommendations—of the Sadler Commission—the recommendations which he in his speech swears by. Let him prove by his actions and not by his words that he believes in the efficacy of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Let him prove in deeds and not in words that he really desires Bengal to progress along the lines of the Sadler Education Report. Let him prove by deeds and not by words that he is not the Minister of Education representing only one section of the people in Bengal but the Minister of Education representing the interests of all the different communities inhabiting Bengal. (Loud cheers from Congress Benches.)

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, in my opening speech, while introducting the Bill, I expressed the hope that the discussions would be carried on in an atmosphere free from passion and prejudice and that an endeavour would be made by all speakers not to use language calculated to wound the feelings of others. I hope, Sir, I did my best—and, I hope, very successfully—to adhere to my intention of showing deference to the feelings of others and that in the speech that I delivered I had not said a word or made a statement to which exception could be taken on the ground of having been offensive to the feelings or sentiments of anybody. I regret, however, that since that speech was delivered, meetings have been held all over Calcutta and speeches have been delivered in this House full of the language of vituperation—and may I add—the language also of challenge and threat——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We want to challenge you.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has taunted me with having been tutored as regards many of the statements I have made. I have been a student and I am yet a student and I am not ashamed of being tutored. Perhaps Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerji is ashamed of being tutored and, perhaps, it is for this reason that we had to listen for nearly two hours to the wild and irresponsible ravings of an untutored intellect. (Interruptions from Opposition.)

Let me remind my friends of the Opposition that these interruptions will lead nowhere. They cannot stop the passage of the Bill. May I remind those who are opposing this Bill that they have to face a determined set of men, who are also determined——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: To ruin Bengal.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: To ruin Bengal, if that is necessary, in order to stop the oppression of a clique——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: And commit suicide.

Mr. K. SHAHABUDDIN: May I ask, Mr. Speaker, if it is fair to interrupt the Chief Minister in this way?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: May I ask Mr. Shahabuddin to sit tight in his seat?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: It has been said that the members who are opposed to the Bill would be untrue to themselves and to their heritage if they do not make this Bill a dead letter. May I inform the House that the members of the Coalition Party in this House are also determined to show to the world that they would be untrue to Islam and untrue to their heritage if they do not place this Bill permanently on the statute book.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Who are the Coalitionists now?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Would you stop?

Mr. M. A. H. ISPAHANI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have heard the Leader of the Opposition patiently without any interruption for about 1½ hours and may we not claim that the Chief Minister also will be given a similar patient hearing?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, Mr. Ispahani does not need teach people how to speak.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I think the best policy for me would be to go on without paying any heed to interruptions.

Now I repeat very briefly the objections that have been urged against the Bill. I will take up those various points one by one. I find that at a Conference held in Calcutta a large number of the leaders of Hindu opinion have formulated their chief points of objection to the Bill. I will take them up one by one and place before the House what answer I have got to give to those charges.

It has been said that the Bill seeks to place secondary education under complete Government control contrary to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. It creates a Board which will be subservient to the Government —

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Buck up

Mr. SPEAKER: May I ask the Leader of the Opposition to stop this sort of interruptions from his side.

Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: We never disturbed Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee or the Leader of the Opposition — (Great uproar.)

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: As regards Government control, may I point out that the real executive power is vested in a a Board, in an Executive Council which has been composed as follows: -President *(ex-officio)*, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, the Vice-Chancellor the University of Dacca, the Director of Public Instruction, the Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muslim Education, the Deputy Directress of Public Instruction for Female Education, two Inspectors of Schools to be elected by the Board, three members of the Board to be elected by the Board from among the representatives of the University of Calcutta, and two persons normally resident in Calcutta to represent the University of Dacca, and one Scheduled Caste member.

In this Board of 18 members the only officials are the Director of Public Instruction, the Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Deputy Directress and two Inspectors of Schools. I do not think that any reasonable man can put forward the charge that there is officialisation of this Executive Council. Let me remind this House that even in the previous draft, even in the draft of the Secondary Education Bill to which Sir Ashutosh Mukharji was a party, the Director of Public Instruction and other officials were allowed representation. May I also point out that in all the other drafts, the Director of Public Instruction and the Inspectors of Schools have always been suggested as

suitable members of the Executive Council or a similar body? The Director of Public Instruction will be there to place at the disposal of the Executive Council the experience which he possesses of the working of secondary schools in Bengal. The Inspectors of Schools are absolutely essential, because under certain conditions the university has been carrying on its functions of giving affiliation to schools solely on the reports of the Government Inspectors of Schools. It is these Inspectors who know everything that is necessary to be known regarding the working and function and the organization of secondary schools in Bengal. It does not require much persuasion to be convinced of the fact that the Inspectors are almost indispensable on a body like the Executive Council. Then, Sir, what are the constitutions of the various other Boards that the Government want to set up. They are practically wholly non-official except for the presence of the President who is certainly going to be a non-official and one does not see anywhere in the suggestions that have been made to officialise either the Executive Council or the various other Boards to such an extent that public opinion will not find an opportunity to properly express itself. The charge therefore that it is an official body does not bear careful scrutiny. Now, Sir, it has been pointed out that the regulations are subject to Government approval. Is that anything new? For the last 75 years and particularly within the last half a century that the Calcutta University has been carrying on its work, its regulations have been subject to the control of Government. May I point out to the House that section 25 of the Indian Universities Act says that the senate with the sanction of Government may from time to time make regulations consistent with the Act of Incorporation as amended by this Act and as this Act provides for matters relating to the university, may I remind this House that sub-clause (*o*) of section 25 gives the only control which the Calcutta University now possesses over secondary schools, namely, the control of affiliation on the basis of regulations which require to be sanctioned by the Government. Has Government in any case—and be it remembered that the university never complained against the Government—withheld its approval of regulations or changes in regulations? Has the Government in any way stood in the way of the university controlling secondary education by the only means that it possesses, namely, by the means of the control of affiliation of schools? Now, Sir, it has been said that this Bill is not merely one intended to officialise secondary education, but that it will strengthen the forces of communalism by providing for communal representation on all bodies. Sir, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has been good enough to admit that this opposition to the so-called communalism is only of a very recent growth. But I do not wish that he should be allowed to run away merely with a faint admission. I want to drive this matter home to him and emphasize how baseless and unauthorised and unjustified is the charge that the Bill is based on a

spirit of communalism. What does this Bill seek to provide for? It seeks to provide for representation of Muslims to a certain extent. There are two things, namely, that there shall be representation of Muslims and, secondly, that that representation should be to a certain extent. Now, Sir, as regards the main principle whether the Muslims should be represented on the Board or not, I pointed out to the House the other day that all throughout, during the last 20 years, that attempts have been made to draft Secondary Education Bills the principle that Muslims as well as others should have representation on a Secondary Board had been admitted without comment. I will once more recapitulate the facts. In 1923 Government drafted a Bill when Sir P. C. Mitter was Minister in charge of Education, suggesting a Board of 19 of whom 8 would be Muslims. In 1924 Sir Asutosh Mukerjee drafted a Bill suggesting a Board of 25 persons of whom at least 2 shall be Muslims. The quantity of representation does not matter, but the principle was acknowledged that there should be representation of Muslims. I pause for a moment, and I hope neither Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee nor the other Doctor, Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, will cast aspersions on the memory of the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee by accusing him of having been communal and partial to Muslims. In 1925 Government drafted a Bill suggesting 16 to 19 members of whom at least 4 should be Muslims. In 1925 a Bill was proposed by the university representatives that included Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee himself to form a Board of 26 in which 4 at least would be Muslims. In 1926 Government proposed a further Board of 16 of whom at least 3 would be Muslims. The university representatives' criticism on the Bill did not touch the question of Muslim reservation. In 1929 Government drafted another Bill, a Board of 25 members at least 4 of whom would be Muslims and the Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Muhammadan Education, and one member who had specialised in Islamic Studies. This however was revised, constituting a Board of 27 members with at least 4 Muslims and the Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Muhammadan Education, and one member specialist in Islamic Knowledge. Then, Sir, it was in 1937 when a draft Bill was sent to the university that objection to the representation of Muslims on the ground of communalism began to manifest itself. In 1938 we held a Conference about which Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal probably wanted to have some information, a Conference in which Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Dr. B. C. Roy and others representing the Calcutta University and some representing the Dacca University was held and some other educationists in the province also took part in the discussion. We arrived at a certain measure of agreement, but again differed fundamentally on the question of Muslim representation. Now, Sir, such being the case, can it be said that the mere fact that there has been reservation for Muslims can be taken to be an act of communalism?

May I point out, Sir, that my friend Mr. Wordsworth was hardly justified in saying that the Bill provides for a dose of communalism. There is no dose at all, not even a homeopathic dose. (A voice: "Mr. Wordsworth said 'castor oil.' ") There is nothing of that kind. The castor oil may be here in order to clean this Assembly of members like Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, but so far as the Bill is concerned there is nothing savouring of communalism in it. Mr. Speaker, it is already 9-30, and I should not be interrupted in this way. We have been sitting already for nearly 4 hours. If I am interrupted in this way at this late hour, I cannot go on.

Now, Sir, so far as the quantity of representation is concerned, it is true—and I admit it that it is true—that I consider that the representations to be allotted to Muslims are hopelessly inadequate. May I quote certain figures before the House in justification of my decision and conviction. There are in the secondary schools in this province roughly 1,76,415 Muslim boys as against 4,46,328 non-Muslim boys. Then there are junior madrassahs, senior madrassahs, the reformed and the old type which between themselves have 90,000 students. The total number of Muslim boys in all the secondary schools is 2,66,047 as against 4,46,321 non-Muslim boys. This gives us a percentage of 37·3 Muslim boys in the secondary schools. The representation of 38 per cent. would not be in any way an exaggeration. And as a matter of fact, in this Bill the Muslim representation would be a minimum of 38, and it may go on to 41 or 42, whereas the Hindu representation will be a minimum of 43 and it may go up to 47 or 48. In these circumstances, Sir, I submit I was perfectly justified in increasing the number of Muslim seats to be allotted to members representing that community. Now, Sir, we have heard so much and we are hearing so much of communalism. If you give representation to the Hindus, if you give them cent. per cent. of seats, that is not communalism. If you give representation to Europeans that is not communalism; if you give representation to Anglo-Indians that is not communalism; if you give representation to Scheduled Castes who are a community within a community, that is not communalism, but if you give one seat to a Muslim, at once the cry of communalism is raised. Do my friends realize that it is transparent the objection is not on the ground of communalism, but the mind of my friends is so very much saturated with hatred for Islam and Muslim that they cannot tolerate them. They cannot tolerate even one single member belonging to the Muslim community. According to the Hindu mythology when the world was created, Brahmins sprang out of the head of Brahma, some out of the hands and some out of the belly and some out of the feet, but the Muslims have not come from any part of the divine Brahma, but they have sprung in thousands out of cow-dung——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You know yo gin well!

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That is why the Muslims are held in so much hatred. The mere fact that there is a Muslim is intolerable to a Hindu mind. Now, Sir, it has been said that this Bill wants to bring education subservient to the political and communal considerations. Sir, I do not wish to justify the provisions any further. I hope I have said enough on that point. Then it is said that it makes no statutory provision for increased financial assistance to secondary schools. Now, Sir, it is not possible nor is it necessary that provisions should be made within the Bill for anything like financial assistance to the Board. Once the machinery is set up, it will be the duty of the Government to provide the Board with financial assistance It is expected that from the sale of text-books, the Board will receive sufficient amount of income which we think will enable it to finance secondary schools and further the cause of secondary education. It has been said by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee that it is rather anomalous that the Board should control the syllabus and that the university should conduct the examination It there is an anomaly, we may perhaps rectify it in the Select Committee We will bear the remarks of Dr Mookerjee in mind and see what we can do to bring about something which is consistent with what prevails elsewhere.

Now, Sir, it has been said that the Bill does not adequately provide for inclusion of important educational experts on the Board The words "educational experts and educationists" are frequently used, but have not been defined Perhaps, they mean men who are full of hatred for Muslims, and who cannot tolerate the presence of any single Muslim in any public institution. That is the definition of educational experts according to the Opposition

Then, Sir, he says that the Secondary Education Bill does not take note of the strong volume of public opinion in the country

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Face the public if you have courage to.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I cannot face monkeys, but I can face the public.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Because you are a tiger and a lion.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I can say without any fear of contradiction that all the Muslims are solidly behind this Bill——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Because it is communal.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, I am very sorry that you are interrupting like this. I have repeatedly drawn your attention to the fact that you should not do so. There is no other member in the House who does like that. Many outsiders come and they will get such a poor impression of the Legislative Assembly through your conduct. I sometimes feel ashamed of your behaviour. I am very sorry to say all that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Are outsiders better impressed with the Chief Minister, Sir? The public have heard the Chief Minister calling the members monkeys. Will the Chief Minister withdraw that word?

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: The Hon'ble Chief Minister said that he could not face the monkeys. To whom was he referring? (There was great disturbance and voices of protest from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that either Dr. Sanyal or the Chief Minister meant any member of the House. Dr. Sanyal was speaking of the public, and the Chief Minister said in reply that he could not face monkeys.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. (Cries of "Sit down! sit down!" from the Coalition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid I will have to adjourn the House till to-morrow if this sort of thing goes on.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir, it is regrettable that when the Secondary Education Bill is being discussed and we are hearing in all seriousness different points of view ——(Loud noises and disturbances from the Coalition Benches.) This sort of howling will not stop me. (Cries of "Sit down! sit down!" from the Coalition Benches.) Don't howl. Don't usurp the functions of the Speaker. Learn parliamentary manners. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Coalition Party is usurping your functions.

Mr. SPEAKER: You are also slightly doing it.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Sir, I was perfectly calm when I was speaking on the point of order. I shall mention this, Sir. When this Bill is being discussed, naturally divergent and

different points of view are being expressed. They may be absolutely irreconcilable and very strong from their own point of view. Is it relevant, Sir, for us to have constantly from the Prime Minister's mouth cow-dung, Muslim, Islam and things like that. Are these things relevant to the point? (Laughter.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think it is a point of order.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I am sorry I have been misunderstood. The public are not monkeys. If there is anyone in the House who thinks that the monkey refers to him, I apologise. (Laughter.) I can assure my friend that I never meant any member of the House at all. (Laughter.)

Now, Sir, I shall finish in a few minutes. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee referred to various instances in which Government have controlled secondary schools in various ways. May I remind him of the cases of several high schools which were very unfavourably treated by the Calcutta University on consideration which I need not discuss, but which is common knowledge between him and myself? Take the case of the school in Faridpur, where a certain number of students were being prosecuted as anarchists and terrorists. The Head Master himself gave evidence and the Calcutta University threatened that school with disaffiliation unless the Head Master was dismissed. It was pointed out that there were very good grounds for Government not interfering in the management of the school, but the Calcutta University adhered to that threat and out of deference to the wishes of the Calcutta University we compelled the school to dismiss the Head Master. (Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: He was proved to be a police spy.) (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Congress Benches.) (RAI HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: The Sessions Judge said that in his judgment.) May I also remind him of two schools in Hatiya in the Noakhali district? The Hindus——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I know what are the two charges against that man? What is the other charge?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, it is impossible to carry on. If my friends are not willing to hear me, I shall stop, because I do not wish to speak in a House where the atmosphere is surcharged with communalism and hatred of Muslims.

Now, Sir, threats have been used both by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and the Leader of the Opposition. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: And you too!) I wish these threats had not been uttered at least on the floor of this House. If the threats were really uttered in all

seriousness, I am prepared to accept the challenge. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Always ready!) You will see what the consequences will be, but I do not wish to plunge Bengal into a turmoil. (RAI HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: You will.) (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You will bring it to ruin.) Sir, shall I not be allowed to finish my speech?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already appealed to the members of the Opposition not to make such interruptions.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I am still prepared to make an offer. As regards sending the Bill to a Select Committee, I cannot go back upon that decision. The Bill must go to the Select Committee, and I do not wish to trust to the uncertainties of the future; the Bill must go to the Select Committee here and to-day. But, as I have said in my opening speech, we will not begin the work of the Select Committee till November Meanwhile, we will consult the views of the two universities; we will consult educational experts; we will consult such persons as may be nominated by the Leader of the Opposition and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: As you did in the case of the Co-operative Bill!) I wish to work in co-operation with them, but if things come to the breaking point and if we find that we cannot agree, two courses are open to us. Either in spite of all opposition Government will go on with the Bill, or we may have a partition of education as suggested by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. (RAI HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Good, good!) I find that the Pakisthan scheme has been advocated in some form by Dr Syamaprasad Mookerjee. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Coalition Benches.) It is the begining of Pakisthan in India, and the Pakisthan scheme is really so very strong on the merits that its approval has come involuntarily from the lips of no less a person than Dr Syamaprasad Mookerjee. (Cries of "Hear! hear!" from the Coalition Benches.) I here once again repeat that offer. I am even willing to go against the mandate of the Party and send the Bill to circulation, provided the threats are withdrawn and assurances given that everyone will co-operate with us to work in the Select Committee. But, Sir, the threats must be withdrawn first. Nonetheless, whether there are threats or not, I promise that we will not begin the work of the Select Committee before November. We will consult the two universities; we will consult such persons as may be suggested by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and the Leader of the Opposition.

Now, Sir, I do not wish to delay the House any longer. I had many things to speak about, but I do not think any useful purpose will be served in continuing this debate in the atmosphere that is now prevailing. I hope I will get other opportunities for substantiating the position I take up with regard to the Bill. I place my motion for reference to a Select Committee to the House.

(Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose rose to speak.)

Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN: Is it any fu ts?

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Sir, I did not expect such impertinent and insolent remarks from the Chief Whip of Government. I repeat, Sir, that I did not expect such impertinent and insolent remarks and through you, Sir, I ask him to withdraw them.

(Uproar at this stage.)

Mr. SPEAKER: The only alternative for the time for me, as I have said already, is to adjourn the House, if it is impossible to carry on the proceedings of the House. The Leader of the House has made an offer. I have to take cognizance of it, and the Leader of the Opposition wants to reply to that offer.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: May I say, Sir, that the Chief Whip of Government has no right to stand between you and me I was going to reply to the offer made by the Hon'ble Chief Minister I was not sure, Sir, that I heard him quite distinctly. If the offer was that he would accept the motion for circulation for eliciting public opinion subject to this that threats are withdrawn, my reply —

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: And assurance given that they would work on the Select Committee.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: After the circulation.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, may I explain properly? When I gave notice of this motion for a Select Committee, a counter-notice was given of a motion for circulation. At that time, the members of the Opposition did not know whether I would press my motion for a Select Committee or would accept the motion for circulation. But without waiting to see what we were going to do, they refused to have anything to do with the Select Committee. The Select Committee that I have proposed must stand, and I must get an assurance that those members whose names I have suggested will come forward to work on the Select Committee and the threats must be unconditionally withdrawn in this House.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I owe an apology to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister for not being able to follow exactly what he said just now. But did I understand him to say that we have to commit ourselves to the principles of the Bill in advance before he agrees to

circulation or did he mean that he agreed to send the Bill for circulation for eliciting public opinion and that we would have every chance and opportunity of revising the Bill after public opinion had been elicited and that Government would consider the whole position after opinion was received from different sections of the province. If Government keep an open mind on the question, I have absolutely no difficulty in accepting straightaway the offer of the Hon'ble the Chief Minster to send the Bill for circulation for eliciting public opinion.

As regards the threats, speaking for myself and for others who have spoken, I think, it is an entire misapprehension of the language that was used to take it as a threat. What was said, I submit, was entirely parliamentary and there was no question of threats. But we could not commit ourselves to accepting the principles of the Bill and naturally we decided not to co-operate.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That is not an acceptance of my offer.

That motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st December, 1940, was then put and a division taken with the following result:

AYES—71.

Abdul Hakeem, Mr.
Acharyya Choudhury, Maharaja Sashi Kanta, of Muktagacha, Mymensingh.
Banerji, Mr. P.
Banerjee, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerji, Mr. Satya Priya.
Banerjee, Dr. Suresh Chandra.
Barma, Babu Prombari.
Barma, Mr. Puspajit.
Barman, Babu Shyama Prosad.
Barman, Babu Upendra Nath.
Basu, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Bhowmik, Dr. Gobinda Chandra.
Biswas, Babu Lakshmi Narayan.
Biswas, Mr. Surendra Nath.
Bose, Mr. Sarat Chandra.
Chakrabarty, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Chattopadhyay, Mr. Haripada.
Chaudhuri, Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Babu Radhanath.
Das, Mr. Manmohan.
Dee Gupta, Babu Khagendra Nath.
Dee Gupta, Dr. J. M.
Dutta, Mr. Dhirendra Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Sukumar.
Dutta Gupta, Miss Mira.
Dutta Mazumdar, Mr. Nihareudu.
Ganguly, Mr. Pratul Chandra.
Ghosh, Mr. Atul Krishna.
Goswami, Mr. Tulsi Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. J. N.
Jalan, Mr. I. D.
Khan, Mr. Debendra Lall.
Kumar, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Kundu, Mr. Nishitha Nath.
Mahtab, Maharajkumar Uday Chand.
Maiti, Mr. Nikunja Behari.
Maji, Mr. Adwaita Kumar.
Majumdar, Mrs. Hemaprova.
Majumdar, Mr. Jnanendra Chandra.
Mal, Mr. Iswar Chandra.
Mandal, Mr. Amrita Lal.
Mandal, Mr. Jogendra Nath.
Mandal, Mr. Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, Dr Syamprasad.
Mukerjee, Mr. Taraknath, M.B.E.
Mukerji, Dr. Sharat Chandra.
Mullick, Srijut Ashutosh.
Naskar, Mr. Hem Chandra.
Nausher Ali, Mr. Syed.
Pain, Mr. Baroda Prosanna.
Paul, Sir Hari Sankar.
Pramanik, Mr. Tarinicharan.
Roy, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Roy, Mr. Kamakrishna.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar.
Roy, Mr. Kisheri Pati.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Kshirod Chandra.
Roy, Mr. Manmatha Nath.
Sanyal, Dr. Nalinaksha.
Sarkar, Mr. Nalini Ranjan.
Sen, Mr. Atul Chandra.

Sen, Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra.
Sen-Gupta, Mrs. Nellie.
Singha, Babu Kshetra Nath.
Sinha, Srijut Manindra Bhusan.
Sur, Mr. Harendra Kumar.
Thakur, Mr. Pramatha Ran
Wahur Rahman, Maulvi.
Zaman, Mr. A. M. A.

NOES—131.

Abdul Aziz, Maulana Md.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mirza.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mia.
Abdul Hakim, Maulvi.
Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, Maulvi Md.
Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
Abdul Hamid Shah, Maulvi.
Abdul Kader, Mr. (alias Lal Meah).
Abdul Karim, Mr.
Abdul Latif Biswas, Maulvi.
Abdul Majid, Mr. Syed.
Abdul Wahab Khan, Mr.
Abdulla-Al-Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. F. M.
Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Mr.
Abdur Rashid Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rashood, Maulvi Md.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Sahib Maulvi S.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Bahadur Shah.
Abdur Razzak, Maulvi.
Abdus Shahood, Maulvi Md.
Abidur Reza Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Abu Hossain Sarkar, Maulvi.
Abul Fazl, Mr. Md.
Abul Hashim, Maulvi.
Abul Hosain Ahmed, Mr.
Abul Quasem, Maulvi.
Aftab Ali, Mr.
Ahmed Ali Enayetpuri, Khan Bahadur Maulana.
Ahmed Ali Mridha, Maulvi.
Ahmed Hossain, Mr.
Ahmed Khan, Mr. Syed.
Alfazuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Amir Ali Mia, Maulvi Md.
Anwarul Azim, Khan Bahadur Md.
Ashrafali, Mr. M.
Asimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Aulad Hossain Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Azhar Ali, Maulvi.
Badruddoja, Mr. Syed.
Barat Ali, Mr. Md.
Biswas, Mr. Rasik Lal.
Brecher, Mr. F. C.
Das, Mr. Anukul Chandra.
Das, Rai Sahib Kirit Bhusan.
Edhar, Mr. Upendranath.
Emdadul Haque, Kazi.
Farhad Raza Chowdhury, Mr. M.
Farhat Bano Khanam, Begum.
Fazlul Huq, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K.
Fazlul Quadir, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Dacca).
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Mymensingh).
Ghaseddin Ahmed, Mr.
Gomes, Mr. S. A.
Gurung, Mr. Damber Singh.
Gyasuddin Ahmed Choudhury, Alhadj.
Habibullah, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur K., of Dacca.
Haddow, Mr. R. R.
Hafizuddin Choudhuri, Maulvi.
Hamiduddin Ahmad, Khan Sahib.
Hasan Ali Chowdhury, Mr. Syed.
Hasanuzzaman, Maulvi Md.
Hashem Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Hasina Murshed, Mrs. M. B. E.
Hatemally Jamadar, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Hawkings, Mr. R. J.
Haywood, Mr. Rogers.
Idris Ahmed Mia, Maulvi.
Ispahani, Mr. M. A. H.
Jalaluddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Jalaluddin Hashemy, Mr. Syed.
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Khan Saheb Maulvi.
Jonab Ali Majumdar, Maulvi.
Kabiruddin Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Kazem Ali Mirza, Sahibzada Kawas Jah Syed.
McGregor, Mr. G. G.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Dr.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Maulvi.
Maguire, Mr. L. T.
Mandal, Mr. Birat Chandra.
Mandal, Mr. Jagat Chandra.
Maniruddin Akhand, Maulvi.
Maqbul Hosain, Mr.
Marindin, Mr. F. J.
Mohammed Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Morgan, Mr. G., C.I.E.
Moslem Ali Mollah, Maulvi M.
Mozammel Huq, Maulvi Md.
Muhammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Syed.
Muhammad Ibrahim, Maulvi.
Muhammad Ishaque, Maulvi.
Muhammad Israil, Maulvi.
Muhammad Siddique, Khan Bahadur Dr. Syed.
Muhammad Soleiman, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Mullick, the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary.
Mullick, Mr. Pulin Behary.
Musharruff Hossain, the Hon'ble Nawab, Khan Bahadur.
Mustagawtai Haque, Mr. Syed.
Nandy, the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra, of Cossimbazar.
Nasarullah, Nawabzada K.
Norton, Mr. H. R.
Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. M. L.
Raikut, the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb.
Rajibuddin Tarafdar, Maulvi.
Ramizuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Razaur Rahman Khan, Mr.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy.
Roy, Mr. Putiram.
Sadaruddin Ahmed, Mr.
Safiruddin Ahmed, Haji.
Sahebe-Alam, Mr. Syed.
Salim, Mr. S. A.
Sanaullah, Al-Haj Maulana Dr.
Sassoon, Mr. R. M.
Scotson, Mr. Robert.
Serajul Islam, Mr.

Shahabuddin, Mr. Khwaja, C.B.E.
Shahedali, Mr.
Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. M.
Sirdar, Babu Lita Munda.
Smith, Mr. H. Brahant.
Steven, Mr. J. W. R.
Tamizuddin Khan, the Hon'ble Mr.
Tofel Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi Haji.
Walker, Mr. W. A. M.
Whitehead, Mr. R. B.
Wordsworth, Mr. W. C.
Yousuf Mirza.
Yusuf Ali Choudhury, Mr.
Zahur Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi.

The Ayes being 71 and Noes 131 the motion was lost.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The Hindu Ministers have no following. We call upon them to resign.

Mr. RASHIK LAL BISWAS: I beg to move that the following name be added to the Select Committee, namely:—

Mr. Upendranath Edbar.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there any objection to the name being included in the list?

(As there was no objection, it was decided to include the name in the original motion.)

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, as amended, that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) Mr. Fazlur Rahman (Dacca),

(2) Maulvi Abul Hashim,

(3) Mr. K. Shahabuddin,

(4) Maulvi Muhammad Israil,

(5) Mr. Abdulla-al Mahmood,

(6) Maulvi Abul Quasem,

(7) Mr. Abdul Karim,

(8) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,

(9) Mr. Pulin Behary Mullick,

(10) Mr. M. Shamsuddin Ahmed,

(11) Mr. Upendranath Edbar,

(12) Mr. Pramatha Ranjan Thakur, and

(13) the mover,

with instructions to submit their report by the 30th November, 1940, the number of members forming the quorum being five, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—121.

Abdul Aziz, Maulana Md.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mirza.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mia.
Abdul Hakim, Maulvi.
Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, Maulvi Md.
Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
Abdul Hamid Shah, Maulvi.
Abdul Kader, Mr. (alias Lal Meah).
Abdul Karim, Mr.
Abdul Latif Biswas, Maulvi.
Abdul Majid, Mr. Syed.
Abdul Wahab Khan, Mr.
Abdulla-Al Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. F. M.
Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Mr.
Abdur Rashid Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rashood, Maulvi Md.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Sahib Maulvi S.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Bahadur Shah.
Abdur Razzak, Maulvi.
Abdus Shaheed, Maulvi Md.
Abidur Reza Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Abul Hashim, Maulvi.
Abul Hosain Ahmed, Mr.
Abul Quasem, Maulvi.
Aftab Ali, Mr.
Ahmed Ali Enayetpuri, Khan Bahadur Maulana.
Ahmed Ali Mridha, Maulvi.
Ahmed Hosain, Mr.
Ahmed Khan, Mr. Syed.
Alfazuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Amir Ali Mia, Maulvi Md.
Anwarul Azim, Khan Bahadur Md.
Ashrafali, Mr. M.
Awad Hossain Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Azhar Ali, Maulvi.
Badruddoja, Mr. Syed.
Barat Ali, Mr. Md.
Biswas, Mr. Rasik Lal.
Brasher, Mr. F. G.
Das, Mr. Anukul Chandra.
Das, Rai Sahib Kirti Bhusan.
Edbar, Mr. Upendranath.
Emdadul Haque, Kazi.
Farhad Raza Choudhury, Mr. M.
Farhat Bano Khanam, Begum.
Fazlul Huq, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K.
Fazlul Quadir, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Dacca).
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Mymensingh).
Ginauddin Ahmed, Mr.
Gyasuddin Ahmed Choudhury, Alhadj.
Habibullah, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur K., of Dacca.
Haddow, Mr. R. R.
Hafizuddin Choudhuri, Maulvi.
Hamiduddin Ahmad, Khan Sahib.
Hasan Ali Chowdhury, Mr. Syed.
Hasanuzzaman, Maulvi Md.
Hashem Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Hasina Murshed, Mrs., M.B.E.
Hatemally Jamadar, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Hawkings, Mr. R. J.
Haywood, Mr. Rogers.
Ispahani, Mr. M. A. H.
Jalaluddin Hashemy, Mr. Syed.
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Khan Sahab Maulvi.
Kabiruddin Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Kazem Ali Mirza, Sahibzada Kawan Jah Syed.
McGregor, Mr. G. G.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Dr.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Maulvi.
Mandal, Mr. Birat Chandra.
Mandal, Mr. Jagat Chandra.
Maniruddin Akhand, Maulvi.
Maqbul Hosain, Mr.
Marindin, Mr. F. J.
Mohammed Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Morgan, Mr. G., C.I.E.
Moslem Ali Mollah, Maulvi M.
Mozammel Huq, Maulvi Md.
Muhammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Syed.
Muhammad Ibrahim, Maulvi.
Muhammad Ishaque, Maulvi.
Muhammad Israil, Maulvi.
Muhammad Siddique, Khan Bahadur Dr. Syed.
Muhammad Sulaiman, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Mullick, the Hon'ble Mr. Mohanda Behary.
Mullick, Mr. Pulin Behary.
Musharruf Hossain, the Hon'ble Nawab Khan Bahadur.
Mustaqawal Haque, Mr. Syed.
Nandy, the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra of Gosaibazar.
Nazarullah, Nawabzada K.
Norton, Mr. H. R.
Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. M. L.
Raikut, the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb.
Rajibuddin Tarafder, Maulvi.
Ramiseddin Ahmed, Mr.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy.
Roy, Mr. Patiram.
Sadaruddin Ahmed, Mr.
Safiruddin Ahmed, Haji.

Sahebe-Alam, Mr. Syed.
Salim, Mr. S. A.
Samadich, Al-Hadj Maulana Dr.
Samson, Mr. R. M.
Sentson, Mr. Robert.
Serajul Islam, Mr.
Shahabuddin, Mr. Khwaja, C.B.E.
Shahedali, Mr.
Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. M.
Sirdar, Babu Litta Munda.
Smith, Mr. R. Drubant.
Steven, Mr. J. W. R.
Tamizuddin Khan, the Hon'ble Mr.
Tofel Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi Haji.
Walker, Mr. W. A. M.
Whitehead, Mr. R. B.
Wordsworth, Mr. W. C.
Yousuf Mirza.
Yusuf Ali Choudhury, Mr.
Zaher Ahmed Choudhury, Maulvi.

NOES—60.

Abdul Hakeem, Mr.
Acharyya Choudhury, Maharaja Sashi Kanta, of Muktagacha, Mymensingh.
Banerji, Mr. P.
Banerjee, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerji, Mr. Satya Priya.
Banerjee, Dr. Suresh Chandra.
Barma, Babu Promhari.
Barman, Babu Syama Prosad.
Basu, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Bhawmik, Dr. Gobinda Chand
Biswas, Babu Lakshmi Narayan.
Biswas, Mr. Surendra Nath.
Bose, Mr. Sarat Chandra.
Chakrabarty, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Chattopadhyay, Mr. Haripada.
Chaudhuri, Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Babu Radhanath.
Das Gupta, Babu Khagendra Nath.
Datta, Mr. Dhirendra Nath.
Dolui, Mr. Harendra Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Sukumar.
Dutta Gupta, Miss Mira.
Dutta Mazumdar, Mr. Niharendu.
Ganguly, Mr. Pratul Chandra.
Ghose, Mr. Atul Krishna.
Goswami, Mr. Tulsi Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra.
Jalan, Mr. I. D.
Khan, Mr. Debendra Lal.
Kumar, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Kundu, Mr. Nishita Nath.
Maiti, Mr. Nukunja Behari.
Maji, Mr. Adwaita Kumar.
Majumdar, Mrs. Hemaprava.
Majumdar, Mr. Jnanendra Chandra.
Mal, Mr. Iswar Chandra.
Mandal, Mr. Jogendra Nath.
Mandal, Mr. Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, Dr. Syamaprasad.
Mukerjee, Mr. Tarakneth, M.B.E.
Mukherji, Dr. Sharat Chandra.
Mullick, Srijut Ashutosh.
Naskar, Mr. Hem Chandra.
Paul, Sir Hari Sankar.
Pramanik, Mr. Tarinicharan.
Roy, Mr. Charu Chandra.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar.
Roy, Mr. Kishori Pati.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Kshirod Chandra.
Roy, Mr. Manmatha Nath.
Sanyal, Dr. Nalinaksha.
Sarker, Mr. Nalini Ranjan.
Sen, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Sen, Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra.
Sen-Gupta, Mrs. Nellie.
Singha, Babu Kshetra Nath.
Sinha, Srijut Manindra Bhusan.
Sur, Mr. Harendra Kumar.
Thakur, Mr. Pramatha Ranjan.
Wallur Rahman, Maulvi.

The Ayes being 121 and the Noes 60, the motion was carried.

Adjournment.

It being 10-20 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Thursday, the 29th August, 1940, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

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